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Contents

The Republican Defeatists 160
Editorial Notes 162
Leading Editorials
- The Great Debate 164
- A Truce on the Railroad Question 166
- America and Armenia 167
- The Professor and the Anaconda 170

General Articles
- Democracy for Law-Breakers ..... Winthrop D. Lane 172
- Minutiae ..... Fred B. Johnson, *Major* 174
- Battle Song ..... Grover C. Loud 176
- Palestrina on Twenty-Second Street ..... Paul Rosenfeld 177
- The Next New York ..... F. H. 179
- Rhetoric (Verse) ..... Louis Untermeyer 181
- Zionism: Tribalism or Liberalism ..... Morris R. Cohen 182
- Posters (Verse) ..... Elizabeth Coatsworth 183

Correspondence 184
After the Play ..... Q. K. 186
What to Read ..... Salann 187
Reviews of Books
- The War State ..... H. J. L. 188
- The Poetry of Gladys Cromwell ..... Padraic Colum 189
- The Lyrics of James Joyce ..... M. A. 191
- Dunsany at War 191

The Republican Defeatists

THE action of thirty-nine Republican senators in signing the Lodge resolutions precipitates as serious and as dangerous an issue as has ever been raised in American politics. If they persist in their opposition, they will bring upon their fellow countrymen the calamity of an irreconcilable constitutional and moral conflict. American public opinion should not allow itself to be deluded as to the sinister meaning and incalculable results of the position which these Republican senators have assumed. They are pretending that they are seeking to accomplish a purpose similar to that of the President by a different and better route. The pretension is false. Blinded by their bitter personal animosity to Mr. Wilson and betrayed by a not entirely unjustifiable resentment as to the extent to which he has ignored them, they have delivered to him and to the Peace Conference an ultimatum. If they persist in this ultimatum they will endanger the peace of the world and may bring suffering and disaster on millions of helpless people in all countries. If they finally quit they will convict themselves of factious and pig-headed opposition to a lofty and thoroughly American attempt to carry succor and security to all mankind in one of the great crises in human history. We do not envy them the self imposed necessity of a final choice between quitting or rebelling against the conscience of the free nations.

In effect the Lodge resolutions inform the Peace Conference that if it does not submit to the dictation of the Republican majority in the Senate they will so far as this country is concerned veto its decisions. They have declared their intention of using their power under the Constitution to prevent the American nation from joining the other democracies of the world in converting the Peace Conference into an organized international society. In assuming this attitude they are making themselves responsible for the defeat of every positive political purpose for which the democracies of the world have fought the war. They have at last revealed the real meaning and intention of the "defeatist" agitation in which our American reactionaries have during the last two years expressed their hatred of liberalism and democracy. It remains to be seen whether they will dare to use their clear constitutional power to reject the treaty of peace. If they do, then they will indeed be furnishing a perfect example of the stupid headstrong action on the part of a powerful minority which results in the destruction of historic parties, which causes dangerous popular convulsions and which necessitates in the end radical changes in the institutions of a nation and in the distribution of its political power. Perhaps some of our readers will consider the foregoing statements too drastic. If so, they fail to understand the full bearing and consequences of the Lodge resolutions. The policy upon which they insist of divorcing the treaty of peace with Germany from the constitution of the League will result in the death of the League. No League of Nations is possible at present except as part of the treaty of peace. The settlement with Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Turkey calls for the territorial distribution and the economic re-

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arrangement of Europe, Asia and Africa. It will provide the stuff out of which any potent fabric of public law for the whole world must be woven. Statesmen agree that if a repetition of the calamities of the great war is to be avoided, the several nations which sign the treaty of peace must contribute additional sanctity and security to this new body of public law. They must make promise not only to keep their own engagements under it, but if necessary they must compel a recalcitrant nation to respect its engagements. Otherwise all the peoples of Europe, but particularly the new and smaller peoples in the East, will be corrupted by fears, rivalries, exclusive ambitions and mutual distrust. The treaty of peace, that is, will itself necessarily bring into existence either an alliance to guarantee its provisions or a League of Nations, which will back up the international sanction with an international government.

Thus the Peace Conference has as a consequence of the logic of its own work and almost in spite of itself been developing into a League of Nations. It necessarily operates as an association of states, whose chief business it is to increase the prevailing feeling of international security and which is forced to adopt any measure which may be necessary to prevent future violations of public order. The only question is whether the association will act as an alliance which seeks satisfaction of the exclusive ambitions of its members or as an organized society dedicated to the establishment of a binding and articulate relationship between international power and equal justice. Should it act as an alliance and place the combined instrumentality of public order behind a treaty which ignores principles of international comity and provides no generally accepted means of adjusting international controversies, the subsequent organization of an operative League of Nations becomes impossible. The solemn obligations of the signatories of the treaty of peace will form an insuperable obstacle to its creation. The political agency which controls international power and which alone is physically able to maintain international order will be divided from any accepted allegiance to the achieved rules of international justice. It has decided, consequently, to convert itself into a League of Nations rather than an alliance and it is this decision which the Republican senators have announced their intention of preventing.

We have not exaggerated, consequently, the seriousness of the issues raised by the Lodge resolutions. The Republican senators who signed them are doing one of two things. By opposing the only possible method of creating a League of Nations they are to the best of their ability either committing this country to a permanent entangling alliance with European Powers for the guarantee of an old-fashioned treaty of peace which would really compromise the advantages which Americans have always associated with their residence in a new world, or else they are repudiating the standards of general international obligation which America first recognized by entering the European War. It is the second of these courses upon which they have really embarked. Should the publication of their resolutions avail to destroy the past work of the Peace Conference or frustrate its future plans, this country will undoubtedly choose to resume the isolation which has been the foundation of American foreign policy in the past. The Republican senators have issued in substance a declaration of American national irresponsibility with respect to Europe, and this declaration will demand for its vindication a future policy of armed, provocative and more or less exclusive nationalism. It is no wonder that our French and British associates are alarmed by the evidence of American nationalistic reaction.

In New York on last Tuesday night President Wilson returned the only possible answer to their challenge. He will return to Paris. In consultation with the other members of the Peace Commission he will proceed to draw up a treaty of peace which will contain as its most essential provisions a League of Nations. He will then return to this country and defy the Republican Senate to reject it. The prediction is freely ventured that they will not dare to persist in their opposition. Possibly, but we do not feel sure. They are a stiff-necked group, who may be willing to risk the incalculably dangerous consequences which such action would bring on themselves, on their party, on their country and on the world. In any event they have issued their challenge and during the President's absence in Europe it is the first business of American liberals of all classes and all parties to assume their part in answering it.

The President's speech is a call for all American Democrats to come to his assistance and prevent this reactionary and irresponsible kind of Americanism from having its way. The American people, secure though they are as compared with their European brethren, possess an equally essential interest in creating a League of Nations. By refusing to assume its obligations they would not only be earning the contempt and hostility of both their friends and enemies in the great war, but they would assume an attitude towards the rest of the world which would finally force their country to arm to the teeth. Their fight against Prussian militarism would end in their own domination by the class in the country which is determined to submit their bodies and their souls to the politics of authority and the discipline of the camp.

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DURING the concluding weeks of its existence the Sixty-fifth Congress did not present an ingratiating spectacle to the eyes of the American public. After spending three months in irrelevant and futile talk dedicated for the most part to the expression by its members of animosity to the President, it died without passing certain indispensable appropriation bills or without showing any recognition that the American people were in critical need of legislation to prevent industrial unrest. Rarely has a parliamentary body proved less able to rise to the level of its plain responsibilities. It would have been an easy matter for Congress to pass a few simple measures which would have smoothed the transition from war to peace and enabled the nation to resume its normal industrial life with the smallest possible unemployment, individual suffering, business losses or social friction. But the comparative simplicity of the immediate problem of reconstruction instead of tempting Congress to undertake the job only brought about its neglect. It has died without doing anything of importance to forestall the inevitable appearance of acute industrial disorder. It has not even recognized the problem by setting up a commission with the authority and resources to undertake an investigation.

CONGRESS, however, is not alone to blame for this failure. A large share of the responsibility is chargeable to the administration. It refused to give to Congress the leadership in the formulation of policy which it has come to expect and without which it can no longer effectively act. As soon as the armistice was signed President Wilson talked and acted as if all that was needed in order to provide for the transition from war to peace was to abandon every agency of public control over industry and labor which had been created during the war. He may have been partly persuaded to adopt this attitude because he had decided to go abroad, and he considered it impossible at once to write a treaty of peace in Paris and a preliminary programme of domestic reconstruction in Washington. But as a result of his decision to go to Paris and the consequent neglect of his domestic job the United States has during the critical months been deprived of all governmental initiative. We agree with Mr. Wilson that his presence in Paris was and is comparatively more important than his presence in Washington, but it is plain that in the long run the American people will not willingly pay the price of such an exclusively one-man government. The inability of the President to work both in Washington and Paris is symbolic. There is placed on an American President a more exacting, varied, continuous, exclusive and incorrigible responsibility than any one man can carry.

THE beginning of a serious discussion of the proposed text of the constitution of a League of Nations has opened the eyes of responsible public opinion both in this country and in Europe to what the consequences would be of the defeat of President Wilson by his bitter personal opponents in both American parties. Those Frenchmen, for instance, who have been condemning a League of Nations as an insufficient guarantor of the future security of France, and who have imagined that the doubts of the ordinary American could be traced to the same source, have been roughly disabused. The speeches of such Senators as Reed and Borah appealed exclusively to the traditional American feeling of irresponsibility with respect to the quarrels and interests of European nations. If these feelings had prevailed in 1917 America would not have entered the war. If they prevail in the future American military and economic power will be used only to promote a narrowly nationalistic policy and will not furnish a trustworthy contribution to the security of any European Power. Hence the keener appreciation which the French official press has recently expressed of the advantages of a League of Nations. They are beginning to understand the impossibility of securing the future cooperation of this country on any terms less " idealistic " than those proposed by Mr. Wilson. When the President resumes his labors in Paris the French will understand somewhat better than before the advantages from the French point of view of working with him and the danger of cultivating enmity to him in this country.

NO less illuminating and significant has been the curve of development which the debate has already assumed in the Senate. The early speeches of Reed, Borah and Poindexter opposed the whole idea of a League of Nations, ignored the implacable political and economic conditions which demanded the establishment of international government, and gave voice to an Americanism which considered itself completely and irretrievably divided from Europe. But the later speeches of Lenroot, Cummins, Lodge and Knox expressed a different attitude. Messrs. Lenroot and Cummins were distinctly friendly to the idea of a League of Nations, but offered certain objections to the proposed constitution which deserve to be carefully weighed. Senator Lodge's speech was a plea for prolonged consideration and revision of the proposed constitution rather than its flat rejection. Senator Knox was both more drastic in his criticism and more specific in his suggestion of an alternative constitution. He, too, liked the idea of a League of Nations, provided its formation could be postponed until after the treaty of peace was signed. But his

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suggestions of an alternative constitution were ludicrous in their incompatibility one with another and with his criticisms of the official draft. After advocating a treaty of peace which would leave Germany helpless, he proposed a League of Nations which would immediately include Germany. He condemned the proposed constitution of the League of Nations because it failed to outlaw war. But his method of curing the defect was to divorce the League from any jurisdiction over those fundamental political controversies in which the majority of wars originate. The nations were advised to set up a super-sovereignty which would regulate the affairs of the world while at the same time leaving all existing sovereignties intact. "Constructive criticism" of this kind can only result in an increase of popular support of the official draft. Senators Lodge and Knox are both trying to carry water on their two shoulders. They are ostensibly yielding to the sentiment in favor of a League of Nations and at the same time seeking to take advantage of the instinctive prejudice against it of the traditional American nationalism. Is not the frank opposition of Mr. Borah more honorable than the acrobatic feats with which Mr. Knox seeks to keep one foot firmly planted on both sides of a high fence?

WINSTON CHURCHILL, British Secretary of War, likens Europe to a sinking ship, with one bulkhead giving way after another. "It is very important to bring the ship to land." Extending the metaphor, it is also very important that the ship be not beached upon rocks. Two things are needed, prompt action in making peace, and far-seeing statesmanship in the terms of peace. As the negotiations drag on month after month, the process of disintegration in Germany and the rest of central Europe goes on unchecked. It is even now doubtful whether the moderate factions in Germany are not doomed to failure. But if the negotiations were concluded suddenly by the dictation of the kind of peace for which the Bourbons of all the Allied nations are working, all the revolutionary tendencies in Germany would come to sudden maturity. It may be urged that the Allied statesmen must be fully aware of this danger, and must be guiding their policies accordingly. But is there the slightest reason for confidence in the competence of the Allied statesmen? They are the same statesmen who proved themselves incredibly blind to the movement of events in Russia. Nobody can point to a single stroke of Allied policy in Russian affairs that was not a disastrous mistake. In the case of Germany they may easily fall into even more disastrous mistakes, because the passion for vengeance beclouds their vision, myopic at best.

THERE are two reasons why nothing can come of the recurrent agitation to saddle the whole costs of the war upon Germany. In the first place, the conditions upon which negotiations were opened with Germany explicitly excluded indemnities other than charges for reparation. These conditions were laid down by President Wilson, but after communication with the Allies and public announcement of their acceptance. In the second place, Germany could not pay the costs of the war, even if she were willing to do so. It might be supposed that at least she could be compelled to pay up to the limit of her ability, which must exceed the charge for reparation proper. That is in fact a common supposition among Americans. It would be hard to find a responsible German government which would sign a treaty of peace exacting such indemnities, but since Germany is without power of resistance what difference does it make whether she signs the peace treaty or not? That question may be answered by another. What difference did it make whether Lenin and Trotzky signed a treaty of peace with Germany after all Russian power of resistance was gone? We all recognized that it made a difference. It released the Germans from the hopeless task of hunting down resistance in detail, of taking measures to prevent Russia from lapsing into utter anarchy. It makes the same difference whether the Germans sign or not. We have the men and the guns to police all Germany, if we must. We have not the men and guns to make the Germans work hard enough to support so vast an army of occupation and leave anything over to settle even well audited bills for reparation.

THE Chicago Tribune has picked the Saar valley as the tiny cloud on our horizon that makes universal military service essential for the United States. It does not say that France should not have the Saar valley. It is inclined to believe that justice demands the transfer, and that even if it didn't France demands it and will get it. And to the Chicago Tribune the probable creation of what it calls a "Germania irredenta" is a considerable satisfaction because we need a bogy man, or better, a real peril, to frighten us into arming to the teeth. Briefly "we must know that there is another war in the Saar valley, even as Herr Mathias Erzberger says, and that the League of Nations will no more avail against the forces which lie in the Saar valley than a pine lean-to will avail against a hurricane." There may be truth in this. But the way out is not universal training and another war within thirty years. Rather than sow the wind and reap this hurricane, why not forego the Prussian joys of universal training and leave the Saar Valley with Germany?

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IN connection with the introduction of a minimum wage for women bill into the New York legislature, it is instructive to read the report of the Massachusetts Minimum Wage Commission. Here it appears that this revolutionary measure has not perceptibly compelled the wheels of industry to roll into other states, the fate prophesied for New York by enemies of the proposed law. Massachusetts, however, has been so tender of the fears of its business men that "the law especially requires that the financial condition of the industry for which a wage board is established shall be taken into consideration in determining minimum rates," than which nothing would seem to be more just. The gruesome corollary follows, however, that, "it is for this reason the wage rates recommended have, in the majority of instances, been less than the minimum cost of living." One cannot make this an indictment against the hampered Massachusetts Commission, the charge is against a system which allows a business to live on the flesh of its employees because it pleads its own inefficiency forces it to cannibalism. If a minimum wage commission did nothing but give this tangible proof of the rottenness of the wage system as it exists, its establishment would be a thing to fight for.

The Great Debate

FROM now until the final signature of the treaty of peace the American people will carry on one of the great decisive debates of their career as a nation. Twice before and only twice have they decided after prolonged discussion a question of similar importance. Their first great debate began after the victorious assertion of their independence against the United Kingdom. It ended with the formation of what proved to be a national government which tied the American people together with the bonds of a public law, an effective government and a common social purpose. The second debate occurred during the years preceding the Civil War. It ended with the decision of the northern democrats to fight rather than to submit to the permanent Americanization of an undemocratic institution such as human slavery. The third debate is now beginning. Like the first debate, it follows rather than precedes a great war and a decisive military victory, and also like its first predecessor it raises an ultimate question as to the means whereby the American people can preserve and consolidate the fruits of victory in war. Four generations ago they decided that political independence, won by a group of nominally sovereign states, could not endure unless these states converted independence into interdependence and organized a federated nation. Today they have to decide whether the historic franchises on the world's maritime highway, which they confirmed by war against German violence, can endure unless they help to create an international law and government to control the highway. Through the contribution made by them to the war they have successfully vindicated the independence which they consolidated by the organization of an American commonwealth and which they liberalized by abolishing slavery. But in the very act of vindicating their independence have they not clearly testified to their actual interdependence with those European states who contributed to the victory or acquiescence in it? Has not their independence as a nation come to depend on the acknowledgment and organization of the necessary interdependence of all free nations? These are the questions which the American people must answer.

The questions plunge deep into the obscure origins and motives of American national consciousness. If the United States joins a League of Nations consisting primarily of European Powers, its people are consenting to a political reunion with the peoples of Europe. They are apparently compromising the boon, the craving for which moved their forbears to invade a wilderness of sea and land and set up a new commonwealth in a new world. They are renouncing freedom from the animosities, the rivalries, the entanglements and the suspicions which have so frequently warped the domestic lives of the European peoples and thwarted or diverted their collective aspirations. The renunciation may be rather apparent than real, but we cannot deny to the fears and scruples of "old-fashioned" Americans a measure of reality. In considering the force of much of the opposition to the League of Nations it would be fatal to forget how deep the feeling and tradition of American isolation is and what the sources of its vitality have been and still are. Our forbears tore up their roots in Europe and emigrated to the new world at a time when the journey was formidable, irksome, uncomfortable, even to those whose standard of comfort was low, and often terrifying. After they arrived they endured home-sickness, deprivation, ostracism, and grim heart-breaking labor in uncongenial surroundings. But for the mass of them these sacrifices and sufferings seemed well expended. In this new world and only in this new world could they reconstruct their individual and social lives on free soil. A man "becomes," says Hector St. John de Crevecoeur in his Letters of an American Farmer, "an American by being received in the broad lap of our great Alma Mater," where "individuals of all nations are melted into a new race of men." Thus Americanism became to its

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converts something indistinguishable from the land in which it flourished and something essentially irreconcilable with the political and economic tradition of Europe. This attitude towards Americanism, imbedded as it is fast in the conscious and unconscious memory of the American people, gives intensity and at times momentum to the hostile diatribes of those who oppose American participation in a League of Nations.

There is justification for hostility just in so far as the bonds of political interdependence with Europe which this country is asked to forge for the purpose of consolidating the victory over Germany in the great war are similar to those created by traditional European alliances. Such alliances were the counterpart in foreign politics of those impairments of individual and social freedom to avoid which our forefathers settled in America. They bound nations together for the promotion of exclusive national ambitions or for the quieting of joint fears rather than for the realization of liberal common objects shared and cherished by the free peoples of the world. If the United States joined an alliance of this kind, the American people would forfeit one of their most precious inheritances and would submit to the invasion of a European and un-American tradition more dangerous to the liberties of the American people than the invasion of a European army. The danger is real. There are eminent statesmen in Europe and in America who are working ceaselessly to enclose them in the straightjacket of a traditional European alliance. The League of Nations itself, as it is now being constituted, may possibly degenerate into such an alliance. It may fall under the control of statesmen who propose to organize an overwhelming power for the purpose of rendering its members immune from the penalties of international injustice. If the proposed joint guarantee of the political independence and territorial integrity of its members is used by European or other nations for the purpose of securing them in the possession of territory, contrary to the political inclinations and economic interests of its inhabitants, then participation in the League might involve the American people in a repudiation of a permanently precious part of the American tradition. They have every reason to scrutinize carefully and to discuss exhaustively the obligations which they are asked to assume and the relations of those obligations to the political and economic franchises which their forefathers sought to earn by re-building their lives on the soil of a new world.

But the safeguard against this danger is an improvement of the constitution of the League of Nations and a strengthening of the organized interdependence of the associated peoples rather than an impairment of its vitality or a standing aghast at its violation of tradition. Try as they may the American people cannot escape from the consequences of their intervention in the war and their share of the victory. The millions of American soldiers whom the submarine did not prevent from crossing the troubled Atlantic will figure in world history as a symbolic moral compensation for millions of Europeans who braved still more troubled waters to seek freedom for individual and social expansion in the new world. These soldiers fought in a quarrel of European origin and of chiefly European consequences. They helped to win a military victory whose fruits will quickly rot unless they are preserved by a sufficient exercise of democratic statesmanship. If, as some Republicans urge, the Allies impose an early peace on Germany designed primarily to keep Germany impotent in the future and then retire from Europe, the American soldiers will by swarming back to Europe have done nothing permanent to promote Americanism and safeguard democracy. The treaty of peace would then amount to a card of invitation to international anarchy. If, as other Republicans urge, America forms a tight and definite defensive alliance with the Allies for the sake of guaranteeing a treaty of peace, framed without any sufficient regard to the equal rights of all peoples, the American soldiers will, because of the ineptitude of American statesmen, not only have done nothing to promote Americanism but they will have contributed substantially to its ultimate corruption. The treaties of peace would then amount to a card of invitation to international tyranny. There remains only the alternative of a League of Nations, created for the purpose of transferring to Europe by constructive political organization something of that security, of that confidence in other human beings and that opportunity for individual and social expansion to obtain which so many Europeans accepted the discomforts and dangers of emigration to a new world. Such a League is fundamentally the symbol and the instrument of reunion between the larger Europe which our European forefathers founded in America and elsewhere, and the greater European mother from whose loins almost all that is best in American life and civilization has sprung.

The result of the debate appears to be in doubt, but it is not, we believe, really in doubt. Americans will not refuse to supplement the Declaration of Independence, in which their national life first found conscious expression, with an affirmation of that interdependence of all free nations which is the maturer offspring of political progress and of education in democracy. It was natural in the beginning for the American people to believe in Americanism which could flourish only in a new world, physically and politically divided from a

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vexed and effete Europe. But since the Letters of an American Farmer were written the new world has perceptibly aged, the old world of Europe has suffered the pangs of regeneration and applied science has changed the Atlantic Ocean from a dangerous torrent into an almost negligible ford. Conditions no longer justify the confusion of Americanism with a kind of newer-worldliness. The sterile, fugitive and provincial aspects of the original conception have become the salient aspects. It is at bottom absurd and abhorrent to make of Americanism chiefly a matter of geography.

No doubt the pioneers of Americanism in emigrating to America really and at that time justifiably believed that they could not sufficiently liberate their individual and social energies except in a new and uncontaminated world. But they sought and conquered a virgin continent only as the means to the conquest of a new and better life. They and their descendants and imitators did not emigrate in vain. They built a commonwealth which released unsuspected and unprecedented funds of individual and social energy, and the same men could not have built a similar commonwealth on any less congested and appropriated soil. Yet the association between the new world and the new life was nevertheless temporary and fortuitous. What really enabled the European pioneers of Americanism to take advantage of the opportunities of the new world were the political and social ideals which they brought to it from the old world and the undying determination to embody those ideals in their new commonwealth. Even though the prosperity of those ideals formerly demanded the secession of their adherents from Europe and their independent application on American soil, it has long ceased to do so. Not only their prosperity but their survival now demands a reunion between the old world and the new world, organized consultation and cooperation, a common body of public law, a common international government and common standards of social well being.

A Truce on the Railroad Question

BY refusing to take the advice of the Director General of Railroads to extend for five years the period of federal railroad control, Congress is assuming a heavy responsibility. If it will not accept leadership from the Railroad Administration it will have to assume leadership itself. Mr. McAdoo and Mr. Hines have asked for a five year breathing space mainly because they did not believe that Congress could arrive at a lasting solution of the railroad problem during the short period provided in the present law. In declining to grant an extension, Congress is in effect undertaking to provide such a solution within the next two years. Unless the leaders in the Senate who have held up the five year extension bill are confident that they can make good this undertaking, they are playing very dangerous and shortsighted politics.

It is true that at the hearings which have been going on during the past month before the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, the representatives of the Railroad Administration have been with few exceptions the only out and out supporters of a five year extension of the status quo. But the opposition has by no means been unequivocal. The railroad brotherhoods opposed it, but only because they were afraid of the unfair regulation against political activity of railroad employees. If this regulation were repealed, they agreed to support the extension. The security holders oppose it, because they hope to persuade Congress to return the railroads to private control accompanied by a government guarantee of earnings, or at least a reconstruction of the rate system, so that the weak railroads are assured a sufficient return to enable them to function. Without such a guarantee or assurance, they concede that the return of the railroads to private ownership would be a national disaster. The opposition of the railway executives is largely directed toward the section of the federal control act which authorized the Director General to purchase equipment at the expense of the railroads. They also agree that to return the railroads to private control without sweeping changes in past methods of regulation would plunge many of the roads into bankruptcy. If the issue were clearly drawn between the extension of railroad control for five years, and the return of the railroads to conditions prevailing before the war, the opposition to Mr. McAdoo's proposal would probably be confined to the bodies immediately interested in the alternative system of regulation, such as the Interstate Commerce Commission and the state railway commissions, and possibly to such of the associations representing shippers as have not succeeded in looking beyond the immediate effect of a policy on the level of freight rates. The more narrow of the traffic men oppose the five year extension, for the sufficient reason that under federal control rates have been higher than they were under the old system, much as Republican politicians in the unregenerate days used to denounce a Democratic administration because the crops had been unsuccessful. But with this exception the opposition to extension of federal control is conditioned on the ability of Congress to provide a satisfactory and permanent solution within twenty-one months of the treaty of peace.

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What are the prospects of reaching such a solution? The railroad brotherhoods are in favor of government ownership, with regulated operation by the present operative organizations. They are unyieldingly opposed to a governmental guarantee of earnings. The security holders are fighting government ownership, although they are willing to have a large degree of government control, as long as their earnings are assured. The politically powerful state railroad commissions are mobilized to fight to death any plan which deprives them of jurisdiction over intra-state rates. The Interstate Commerce Commission and the Railway Executives insist that the state commissions must be deprived of this jurisdiction if we are to have a national railway system. The Investor's Protective Association, representing independent stockholders, maintains that all financing should be through a new federal corporation independent of the great banks, while the banking interests may be expected to fight any plan that takes away from them the profits of railroad financing. Any hope of obtaining during the next two years a consensus of opinion among the interested parties is illusory. And without such a consensus, only a compact, unified political party, securely entrenched in both houses of Congress and in the Presidency, could hope to force through any fundamental legislation.

In the next session the Republicans will control the House by a safe majority, and the Senate by a narrow margin. But there is not the slightest evidence that they can agree on a plan. Senators Lodge, Smoot and Penrose, judging by their political past, will support private ownership, with either a governmental guarantee of earnings or a substantial modification of the present scheme of regulation. Senator Lenroot, who is coming to represent the progressive wing of the party, is supporting a scheme of nationalization through a government corporation. Many Republican Congressmen and some Senators from the West will be found among the champions of the state railroad commissions. Some will support and many will be afraid to oppose the railroad brotherhoods. With a presidential election approaching, with inadequate knowledge or understanding of the perplexities with which the subject bristles, it is hopeless to expect that the Republicans in Congress can reach an agreement on any fundamental policy.

Is it not the wiser course to face the fact, now, that permanent legislation of a satisfactory sort cannot be obtained until after the next Presidential election? Is it not possible to declare a temporary political truce on the railroad question, by putting permanent legislation aside till Congress has received a more certain mandate from the country? The extra session will be a busy one, but it should not be impossible, before it is too late, to pass legislation extending the federal control act until 1924, or until Congress is ready to legislate permanently. To no one would such a truce be more profitable, in the long run, than to the Republican leaders who are now opposing an extension of federal control. For if the Republican majority in the next Congress cannot agree on a policy, their only alternative will be to drift. Their indecision and lack of unity will be glaringly revealed, while the Democrats will have always ready the temporary policy of a five year extension. In the end, as the time approaches when the railroads automatically return to private control under the impossible conditions prevailing before the war, and the disastrous financial consequences of such a return become more and more menacing, the Republicans will probably be forced to accept the McAdoo proposal and extend the period of federal control. In the meantime any inefficiency or lack of policy on the part of the Democrats will be blamed, with much plausibility and some justice, not on the Democratic administration which controls the railroads, but on the obstructive tactics of the Republicans in Congress.

With problems of peace and international organization pressing for solution, with a merchant marine problem which cannot be deferred, with industrial unrest and unemployment which may at any time become acute, it should not be impossible for the wiser heads in Congress to realize that in undertaking to solve the railroad problem in two years they have undertaken more than they can fulfill. The alternatives to a railroad truce are not pleasant. Either there will be for the next two years a drifting policy which will demoralize the personnel of the railroads, from top to bottom, or else the President will carry out his threat to return the railroads to private control without additional legislation, a course which will entail financial and legal confusion of a kind that it is not agreeable to contemplate.

America and Armenia

OUR European Allies and friends, so we are repeatedly assured, are eager to have America undertake the guardianship of Armenia. The Armenians themselves, if they had a voice in the matter, would choose America as mandatory in preference to any other Power. This is flattering to Americans. It is a recognition of the national disinterestedness, competence and good will. Besides, Americans are staunch believers in action as the only wholesome outlet for emotion. Since 1885 when the Turks first exhibited their villainous purpose of extirpating the whole Armenian race, American breasts have throbbed with impotent

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horror over the outraged of Armenia crying for succor. Russia could do nothing for fear of England, nor England for fear of Russia; France could not move without exciting the antagonism of England and Germany, nor Italy without exciting the antagonism of Russia and France. All Europe was forced to stand by, bound hand and foot by competing ambitions and mutual suspicion. As for ourselves, we were far away and committed to a policy of isolation. What we could do we did. We sent missionaries, we maintained schools and orphanages, with the net result of providing the next outbreak of Turkish fury with more and better cultivated victims. We would gladly have done more, but there was no place for our action under any law which then existed.

But now a new law of nations is coming into being. It rests with us alone to say whether or not we shall undertake to assist Armenia, victim of infinite oppressions, to independent statehood. That is a grave responsibility, we recognize. And before we assume it we wish to be clear with ourselves on the two vital particulars: Is the undertaking really feasible; and if it is, are we the nation to carry it out instead of any other?

Geographically considered, the territories that ought to fall to the Armenian state are sufficiently rich and varied to offer an adequate basis for independent national life. They are well enough defined by mountains, desert and sea, with comparatively narrow stretches where artificial boundaries must take the place of natural ones. The Armenian population lacks none of the elements essential to state building. The Armenians are a people of remarkable intellectual gifts and of still more remarkable practical abilities. Whether as shepherd, farmer or orchardist, whether as artisan, merchant or banker, the Armenian is a superior type of worker. In the midst of Turkish night the Armenian has managed to attain a degree of literacy only surpassed by the more favored nations of western Europe. In the midst of robberies and exactions such as would utterly break the industry of another people, the Armenian has managed to attain material prosperity. Between the periods of massacre the Armenian population renews itself as the green of mountain sides renews itself between the forest fires. Such tenacity, such vitality are worth guiding into organized statehood.

But we have said nothing of political instinct. What if the Armenians lack that quality? Whatever "political instinct" may actually be, the Armenians are likely to exhibit enough of it for independent national life. They are intelligent, they are loyal to their ideals and to their leaders, they are tolerant and patient. They have managed their local affairs frictionlessly; they have conducted their church affairs democratically; they have given the Turkish Empire some of its ablest administrators. It is not a benighted people, just rising out of tribal barbarism, that it is proposed to launch on a career of statehood.

Still, does not the presumption run against a people which in twenty-five centuries of recorded history can point to hardly a century of freedom? Armenia, like Serbia and Rumania, was geographically a corridor, in the era, only recently closed, when the greater population masses of east and west swept back and forth in ceaseless tides of conquest. Assyrians, Medes, Persians, Arabs and Turks, who most harried the Armenians in their incursions, have disappeared or dwindled to insignificance. Say that a modern state of six or seven millions is established in Armenia: there is not another state anywhere in the vicinity that could challenge its safety. The Turks, thrust westward into Asia Minor, could not, nor the Arabs from beyond Lebanon, nor the Persians, engrossed in holding the vestiges of their own culture, nor the future cosmopolitan state that may be planted in Mesopotamia. The situation of Armenia will be far less hazardous than that of Belgium or Holland, Poland or Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary or Rumania. Armenian state-building is not an enterprise foredoomed to frustration.

Armenia's difficulties lie in the present, not in the future. Chief of these is the hopeless mixture of races, languages, religions, characteristic of the whole empire of the Turks. Only in insignificant tracts is the Armenian population free from alien admixture. There is no considerable province in which the Armenians count for an absolute majority. It has been said that in the whole territory that the Armenians are likely to be granted, there are two non-Armenians to one Armenian. That may be an exaggeration. But the Armenians themselves admit that they are a minority, although essily the most numerous single people in the whole mixture. How could they be expected to exhibit a majority status, when the Turk, by successive massacres, has thinned them down and scattered them?

Armenian state-building involves processes peculiar to the Levant and the Balkans, processes of redistribution of population. We have seen how, with the rise of Christian states in the Balkans, the Turks, even without propulsion, have emigrated en masse into Asia Minor. Except as masters privileged to plunder, the Turks do not know how to live among Christians. Therefore, if Armenia is erected into a Christian state we may confidently predict that much of the Turkish population will remove itself to the Turkish districts of Anatolia. On the other hand, the Armenians scattered through Anatolia and the remaining fragment of European Tur-

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key may be expected to return in large numbers, once Armenia is free. Of the remaining alien population, the minor elements will in large part be assimilated. That will hardly be the case with the Greeks of the Black Sea littoral, who have managed to preserve their nationality since before the days of Xenophon. But these Greeks have always lived on good terms with the Armenians, and there is no reason why they should not retain the Greek character and language and still prove harmonious elements in the Armenian state.

What is expected from the Power endowed with a mandate for Armenia is an assurance of peace and domestic tranquillity while the Armenian nation consolidates itself by the natural processes of emigration and immigration, assimilation of alien elements of low culture and accommodation with alien elements of high culture. Would such assurance involve great difficulties and expense? There is no natural risk of attack from without. Even the Turk, after his late experiences, will long exhibit a distaste for military enterprise. There are turbulent elements within that will require watching; the Turks who prefer to remain, the Kurds and various lesser peoples. A well organized police will be neecssary, but given an efficient nucleus and good officers, the Armenians themselves can produce the necessary personnel and support it. We have seen how it is possible thus to organize an efficient native force, in the Philippine constabulary. There are more turbulent peoples to control in Armenia, perhaps, but Armenian support of a national constabulary would be far more universal than was Filipino support of the Philippine constabulary, at any rate in the early years.

What else would be required of the mandatory besides keeping the peace and holding in check a too ardent zeal for prompt nationalization of alien elements? The economic development of the country would repay fostering care. There are railways and roads to build, mines to be opened, irrigation projects to be set under way. Provide work, and the police problem will simplify itself, as it has in the Philippines under the recent general prosperity. But this involves the investment of capital. Is the mandatory Power required, then, to furnish capital and assume the risk of loss? No; under the mandatory system one Power will have as good right as another to trade with Armenia. Loans are an incident of trade, and the nation which provides Armenia with rails and machinery will extend the loans that make the trade possible. In view of the Armenian reputation for thrift, it may be doubted that capital invested in Armenia can long remain alien. In a decade or two the Armenians will have saved enough to control their own means of production.

Such, in general terms, is the kind of problem the mandatory for Armenia will have to solve. Much good will and tact, some trained administrators, a small military force, a temporary loan of capital will be required. The reward of effort, in the rise of a state quite capable of holding its own and of contributing richly to the common stock both of ideas and material goods, appears assured. That is the kind of transaction America can hardly refuse to undertake, if there is good reason why America rather than another Power should undertake it.

Why do our European Allies, why do the Armenians themselves, look to America? Principally because America is disinterested, and disinterestedness is absolutely essential to success in the enterprise. If England undertook the mandate she might be suspected of a desire to strengthen her position in Mesopotamia or Persia. If France undertook it, she might be suspected of desiring to extend her Syrian holdings. If Italy undertook it, she might be suspected of trying to consolidate her claims in southern Asia Minor. We are granting that the motives of these Powers are pure. It is equally important that the motives of the mandatory Powers should be beyond suspicion. Else every counsel of moderation might seem a device for extending the status of guardianship into the indefinite future.

Our motives are pure now, but we are human. Once we have established ourselves in a quasi-imperial position, shall we readily turn our wards free, to complete their national development according to their own desires? America has proved, in the case of Cuba, that she is capable of controlling any imperialistic desires latent in her. There we were bound, it is true, by the Platt Amendment. But we are preparing to withdraw from the Philippines, under no other compulsion than our own conviction that when a people is competent to manage its own affairs, it ought to be free. No other people has ever given a similar proof of devotion to the principle of self-government. Therefore under no other Power as mandatory could Armenia have equal assurance that she would not remain in tutelage beyond the period when it is to her own advantage.

But what would the United States get out of the Armenian enterprise? A consciousness of a job well done, of a nation saved, in the first place. And in the second place, a material reduction in the risk of disorder in the world. With Armenia free and prosperous, orderly civilization will have an outpost in Asia Minor. That quarter will not become a second Balkans, as it must, if Armenia is left to disorder, or thrown a prey to a recrudescent imperialism. In the long run, the reward will be worth the effort.

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The Professor and the Anaconda

GREAT and mighty is the Anaconda Copper Mining Company, when the magnates assemble at the banquet table. Hear the words of John D. Ryan, magnate of magnates. "Butte is the best thing in this line in the world. There never will be a mining camp that will be Butte's equal . . . . You can never close the mines of Butte in any sort of market. You can leave your property in Butte to your children with the assurance that you have left them a goodly heritage and they will have a good inheritance." Hear the words of Mr. C. F. Kelly, Anaconda vice president, the man with a silver tongue and palate of bronze. "There is no spot like it on the map nor will there ever be another. Think of it—a hill that has produced 7,000,000,000 pounds of copper, 4,000,000,000 ounces of silver and enough of the combined metals to redeem the debts [pre-war] of all the nations of the earth." That wonderful hill, with its thousands of miles of burrows penetrating even to the hot earth's interior, is chiefly the preserve of the Anaconda. Small wonder that it figures its Montana assets, conservatively, at near two hundred millions. In excess of all costs, including investments in improvements and extension of works, the Anaconda takes out of the earth net proceeds averaging in the last five years over fifteen millions of dollars. Since 1910 it has paid dividends amounting to a hundred millions. Nature's hoard dissipated? True, but not Anaconda's, for it has acquired more new ore than it has taken out of its old mines.

Anaconda feels justly great and mighty, when it reports the results of its operations to its lucky share-holders. But quite other is the aspect it wears when it appears before the legislative taxation committees, or before the bar of public opinion on taxation. Then it is a weak little thing, pathetically wriggling from its soft shell in the river ooze, very uncertain whether its constitution will stand the rigors of climate to which lesser growths like the farmer and the banker must adjust themselves. A mine, says Kelly—the same Kelly—is like "a piece of cheese from which a slice is taken in each day's operation. . . . The greater the perseverance, the greater the energy, the more skilful the operation of a mine, the sooner it is completely exhausted, and all that remains is a cavern in the hillside." Is it not brutal to tax an enterprise that can just salute you on its way to death? But if the mining company counts its wealth by hundreds of millions? That wealth is essentially a fiction. Most of it is nothing but ore in the ground, and that ore "is absolutely valueless, it is incapable of producing anything of value . . . as it exists in nature. Until each particular ton of ore is reached by expensive workings and excavated, it is not a thing of value." Just what is one paying for, then, when one buys Anaconda stock? Nothing, Kelly says; at least nothing taxable.

Besides, Kelly says, mining is terribly speculative: almost a pure gamble. "Millions upon millions of dollars have been spent in this state in mining ventures that have never returned to the investor one dollar in the way of reimbursement." In the Butte camp "there are operating today, because of conditions that create a favorable expectancy, single mines upon which many millions of dollars have been expended that have never returned a dividend." Should this precarious business be taxed in the same manner as sure enterprises like farming, lumbering, merchandizing? That, Kelly says, would be most unjust. Yet the mining industry has not asked for exemption. It pays the general property tax on its surface holdings, on its machinery, on its mine tracks and smelters. It pays a corporation tax, just like other corporations, and it pays besides—what no other industry in the state pays, a tax on net proceeds. Says the Butte Miner, the mining industry, all radical misinformation to the contrary notwithstanding, bears "an extraordinary tax not levied against any other industry in Montana," and "the miner has become so accustomed to paying his extra assessment that he no longer thinks of objecting to this discrimination against him." Largely on account of this "discriminatory tax" the Anaconda does actually pay an average of $1,100,000 a year. But there are radicals in the state who assert that this is only a fraction of what the Anaconda ought to pay. And so for years there has been a tugging and hauling in the political life of the state, agrarians and radicals demanding more taxes from the mines and the Anaconda fighting with all the energies it possesses in its aspect of greatness. Drop from its mouth another million or two of its sacred treasure? Never.

That is a fight from which prudent citizens, merchants wishing to hold their customers, lawyers their practice, ministers their congregations, prudently hold themselves aloof. The issue is one that interested the state university in a particular degree, as every state university is interested in the public revenues on which it lives. So long as the idea prevailed in the state that mines were undertaxed, there was scant hope of such increases in general taxation as would insure the prosperity of the state institutions. And so it seemed good to the Chancellor to encourage a scientific inquiry into the taxation of mines, by Assistant Professor Levine of the department of economics. Dr. Levine had come recently to the university and would be free from local partisanship. He had won an excellent reputation for

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solid scholarship, and his findings would carry weight accordingly. It is a fair surmise that the Chancellor believed that the facts would tend toward moderation, proving that no interest was specially favored and thus reducing the clamor for radical tax revision and smooth out the road toward adequacy of revenues. At any rate, only on this hypothesis does the Chancellor's behavior all through become consistent. The Chancellor saw, however, that there was risk in the enterprise. He was willing that the university should share the cost of the investigation and relieve Dr. Levine of part of his teaching duties. "On the other hand," he wrote, "I shall want personally to go over carefully with him the results of his study prior to its publication. The leadership of the university in this matter is as much dependent on good sense as it is upon some sound scholarship." With Levine furnishing sound scholarship and the Chancellor good sense, everything should have gone well.

Dr. Levine did not proceed upon any new fangled conceptions of the right of the whole people to the surplus derived from appropriating the treasures bestowed by nature—an average of fifteen millions a year for the Anaconda company. He proceeded upon the premise, old as Adam Smith, accepted by every conservative economist in the world, that property is property, whether a mountain of rich ore or the laborious product of men's hands, and that one dollar of property is equally obligated with any other to contribute to the support of the state. The mining industry pays general property taxes on certain insignificant factors in its aggregate of values. It pays corporation taxes, and a tax on net proceeds besides. But all those taxes together, treated as a single rate on the actual property value held by the mining companies, weigh little more than half as much as the taxes on farms and stock and dwellings and other possessions of men not powerful before legislative committees. As for the special character of the industry, as one built upon wasting resources, that does not in any way affect the equation, since every company soundly financed sets aside from income a reserve equivalent to mine deterioration. Nor is there anything peculiarly speculative about the mining industry, as Dr. Levine shows on the authority of the conservative Engineering and Mining Journal, Mr. Herbert Hoover, J. R. Finlay, Cecil Rhodes and other men of unchallenged standing in engineering and finance. The mining companies of Montana are simply dodging half their proper state taxes. That is putting it bluntly. But there is nothing blunt about Dr. Levine's study, now published by Huebsch (price $1.00 net). In manner as well as in matter it would be passed as perfectly sound and conservative.

It was not, however, to be passed as sound by the Anaconda, nor by the Chancellor. There were certain passages, the Chancellor averred, that by their tone exhibited bias. Dr. Levine was ready to change the tone. No, that would not suffice: the monograph dealt with a moot political question. "From every standpoint of sound public policy it is untimely and inappropriate for the University, as an agency of the state, through any of its representatives, to intrude itself into discussions of the tax problem." So the Chancellor wrote to Dr. Levine on January 9th. Since then he has arrived at a still broader view of public policy. What Dr. Levine's case involves, according to the Chancellor's statement, made public February 15th, is "the all important question as to whether the Chancellor's policy of insisting that university men shall not mix in legislative political controversies is a sound one for an institution created to serve fairly all the people of the state." Let economists in state universities take notice. They must not meddle with state taxation, or labor legislation, banking or corporation problems. Let them give instruction on the revenues of the Dalai Lama and the professional standards of the lapidaries' guild in the Age of Pericles. Thus will they serve fairly all the people of the state and they will serve the Anacondas better.

Because Dr. Levine did not see the force of the Chancellor's advice, and published his study on his own account, he was suspended, on February 7th, for "insubordination." Presently he is to be heard, and dismissed, if the Chancellor can compass it. In the meantime the educational committee of the state senate is conducting an inquiry, with special reference, apparently, to Levine, to determine whether the state university is teaching Bolshevism. Bolshevism: what milder brew could inflame a professor to tilt an Anaconda?

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EDITORS
HERBERT CROLY FRANCIS HACKETT
PHILIP LITTELL ALVIN JOHNSON
WALTER E. WEYL
SIGNE TOKSVIG, Assistant Editor

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Democracy for Law-Breakers

WHILE the world is being made safe for democracy and the law-abiding, democracy itself is being made safe for the law-breaker. One after another, our penal and correctional institutions are experimenting with inmate self-government; the criminal is being painlessly inoculated with group consciousness. Even before Thomas Mott Osborne startled the world a few years ago by launching the Mutual Welfare League among "hardened" and "desperate" offenders in Auburn Prison, New York, a successful experiment in self-government had been started among the more youthful miscreants and idlers at the Ione state reformatory in California. Following these beginnings, the movement spread rapidly. The next institution to admit prisoners into the mysteries of self-rule, and probably the first county institution to do so, was the Westchester County Penitentiary, New York. A little later, when the New Jersey state prison at Trenton was ripped open by newspaper exposure and the evils of autocratic penology were laid bare, one of the first remedies suggested was a moderate degree of inmate control. Next, the women's reformatory at Clinton Farms, New Jersey, extended its own earlier acceptance of the plan, and quite recently the county penitentiary at Caldwell has undergone a revolution by dethroning despotism and erecting democracy in its stead. In this jail men who formerly were not permitted to eat with knives and forks, because such implements can be secreted and become dangerous in a fight, are now electing their own delegates and representatives to make rules for them and are sitting in judgment upon their own offending fellow-inmates! Finally, even the school for feebleminded girls at Vineland, New Jersey, under Dr. Madeleine A. Hallowell, has adopted a modified form of self-government, limited, of course, to the more intelligent grades of inmates.

Perhaps the greatest surprise of all, however, is the appearance of inmate self-government in naval and military prisons. That a good soldier should be law-abiding is doubtless not repugnant to military discipline, but that he should have anything to do with making or administering laws, and much less with developing his own initiative and sense of fellowship with others, is blasphemy to the believers in blind obedience as a moral force. Possibly it is being discovered that even a soldier has need of the kind of manhood that comes from participating in what goes on around him, that freedom to think in terms of the common good is not a mollycoddling influence, and above all that a soldier for democracy fights better if he has a real familiarity with the ideals set before him. At any rate, the naval prison at Portsmouth, N. H., under Lieut.-Col. Thomas Mott Osborne, has successfully conducted a Mutual Welfare League for over a year, and the U. S. Disciplinary Barracks on Governor's Island, N. Y., under Col. John E. Hunt, commandant, has started an Honor Club which is in fact a self-governing organization of inmates.

Calvin Derrick, who started the Ione experiment, and Mr. Osborne are not the real founders of inmate self-government. Both have acknowledged their debt to William R. ("Daddy") George, founder of the George Junior Republic in 1895. Not even Mr. George, however, can claim the pioneer's crown. Nearly a century ago a very considerable experiment in self-government was tried in the Boston House of Refuge, the second reformatory for delinquent children established in this country. Short-lived as this experiment was, it possessed many of the features of modern self-government plans and was recognized at the time as a somewhat epochal achievement. Its founder was a young minister by the name of E. M. P. Wells. Alexis de Tocqueville visited the House of Refuge with his friend, Gustave de Beaumont, in 1831, and the two Frenchmen reported to their government on the precocious republic they found there. Not only were the young Boston incorrigibles given a voting participation in the election of monitors and other officers, but they had an inmate court for disciplinary purposes as well. De Tocqueville and de Beaumont were much impressed. "There is more depth in these political plays," they wrote, "than we would suppose at first glance. The impressions of childhood and the early use of liberty contribute, perhaps, at a later period, to make the young delinquents more obedient to the laws. And without considering this possible political result, it is certain that such a system is powerful as a means of moral education." However, they, like many persons in this country at the time, regarded the experiment as incapable of being imitated, and attributed its success to the remarkable personality of the young idealist who started it—an attitude that we have seen repeated in our own day.

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What is self-government in penal institutions? It is simply an application of the educational principle that people learn by doing. It is based on no quixotic conception of the *rights* of prisoners—their right to vote, their right to take part in the government over them, their right to say what orders shall be issued and who shall issue them. So long as prisons exist, they will doubtless be conducted on the theory that men and women who break society's laws forfeit many rights and privileges previously enjoyed; certainly it is no part of the theory of self-government that they do not forfeit them. Self-government is simply an embodiment of the idea that if prisoners are to improve in the ways of normal living, if they are to grow more self-reliant in dealing with other people, if they are to acquire the social habit of living in accordance with certain "rules of the game," and are to develop their own capacity to help make those rules, the time to begin is while they are undergoing punishment for their offenses.

The great majority of people in prison have failed to adjust themselves to the social milieu. What better remedy, then, than to train them to adjust themselves to the prison milieu? Self-government is, or should be, the setting up of a miniature world in which relationships become normal, acts spontaneous and the power of choice, within limits set by the necessity of keeping prisoners under confinement, free. Its aim, like that of all reformative discipline, is to fit the prisoner for a return to society. Its method is to establish on a small scale a society in which he can form the habits, accustom himself to the responsibilities and gradually acquire the wholesome mental attitude that make normal life attainable.

Self-government is, therefore, more than a mere lesson in the machinery of citizenship. It is more than going through the form of electing one's own officers and sitting in judgment upon one's offending fellow-inmates. It is an effort to train persons in the art of living in concert. It means strengthening the ability to exercise one's own faculties—an ability needed mightily in the world at large. It means freedom to choose one's own friends, to dispose of one's leisure time as one sees fit, to order one's own life in ways that do not interfere with the necessary routine and discipline of a prison's purpose. Under the autocratic system of prison government, the faculties of the inmate are kept in abeyance or killed outright. Under that system, he comes in time to accept the grinding routine that he cannot escape. His whole habit of mind is altered by it. He relies solely upon the officer's command and leaves the very ordering of his life to forces imposed from without.

Recently a prisoner released from a prison of the autocratic type stood in front of the prison door, and, though suffering from no infirmity and in the prime of life, was afraid to cross the street because a wagon drawn by a single horse was coming slowly down the road toward him. The vehicle contained a load of bricks and was still half a block away! Yet so dulled had become this man's power of independent action by the long conformity to prison routine that he could not make this simple adjustment, and permitted the wagon to pass first. Such is the effect of robbing human beings of all opportunity to exercise choice.

More than the break of this monotony is involved in inmate self-government, however. A self-government regime sets up a new fealty by which the prisoner may guide his life. The traditional fealty of the law-breaker is first to himself and then to his "pal." Often this fealty to his pal is the most inspiring thing in his life, his greatest spiritual achievement. The new fealty is loyalty to the whole body of prisoners. By its very operation, self-government identifies each inmate with *all* of his fellow-inmates. It involves him and them in the same gigantic communal enterprise. If a prisoner has a normal range of mental interests, he quickly comes to enjoy the more varied life that self-government brings, and thus the mixture of selfish desire and social appeal existing in all of us is enlisted on the side of the new allegiance. When a prisoner has been brought several times into the self-government court, has been prodded and quizzed by his fellow inmates in their effort to untangle the truth, and has been made to see that his refusal to tell what he knows is actually being frowned upon by his companions, his eyes not infrequently open to a new light. He sees that loyalty to a comrade may involve the greater body of all his comrades in injury, and thus the allegiance by which he has been guided heretofore gives place to a new allegiance that makes him more willing to accept the standards of the world at large.

Two objections to this view of inmate self-government will be made. One is that people who have been sentenced to prison have already demonstrated their lack of self-control and that to expect them to control themselves in prison is absurd. The answer is two-fold. First, instead of lacking self-control, some law-breakers have an extraordinary amount of it; they have simply used it for anti-social purposes. Self-government and all reformative treatment aims to substitute other and better purposes for these. With respect to law-breakers who do lack self-control, the important question is: Which system of government is more likely to remedy this deficiency, the autocratic or the self-government one?

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The second objection is not unlike the first. Since prisoners have known no sufficient restraint in the past, it is argued that to continue the policy of no restraint in prison is to perpetuate the very condition that produced them. Those who make this argument forget that self-government is by no means the abolition of restraint. Prison walls do not crumble and iron bars do not fall away because of a change in the method of administration. Nor is confinement the only way in which restraint is exercised under self-government. It is exercised through the collective action of the prisoners themselves. This is a different kind of restraint, with a different procedure and different origin, but it is none the less restraint. And finally, if collective restraint falls down, the state may step in at any time and re-establish its own.

It is apparent that not all inmates of penal institutions can profit from self-government. Many mental defectives and some of the out-and-out insane are among these. Other prisoners, such as those segregated for contagious diseases, will be temporarily unable to participate; this, however, is no more than is experienced in the world outside. Still others may be excluded for disciplinary purposes. All this merely means that self-government is one of the therapeutic measures open to our prisons, and that although it cannot take the place of work, education, physical development, psychiatry and the other resources of a modern reformative system, it can supplement these and provide both an atmosphere and a medium through which prison discipline becomes a constructive and character-building force in the lives of social failures.

WINTHROP D. LANE.

Minutiae

EARLY in the year 1918, the War Department issued a general order, requiring that whenever a general court-martial passed a sentence of death upon a soldier, the record of the case was to come to one of the bureaus of the War Department, there to be reviewed, in order to determine whether or not the accused had a fair and proper trial, and, if guilty, whether he merited that extreme punishment. Surely a proper order.

The particular bureau in question then sent out a memorandum explaining the purpose of the general order. And one very remarkable sentence in that memorandum ran about as follows: "Great embarrassment would result if it should be held that a death sentence was illegal after the same had been executed!"

It may be said conservatively that the above sentence put the situation mildly. It is not quite enough, perhaps, to say, merely, that "great embarrassment" would result. It might even be fairly said that great discomfort would result, also. From the standpoint of the family of the man who was executed the "embarrassment" might even reach to the heights of being trouble. And to the man himself, it must be admitted that "embarrassment" is really too tame a word.

The officers of the bureau in question did not see the humor in the sentence at all. They read it over and sent it out. If a sentence adjudging death had been executed before the illegality of the sentence had been discovered, it would be embarrassing—some officer, or officers would have an unpleasant half hour. That must be prevented. We will issue an order to prevent it. The order was issued, and such a contingency was prevented. No bad half hours were in store for any officers. Incidentally no soldier was wrongfully done to death. But that was quite incidental.

Now this incident has a moral, and that moral is that there is no humor or sense of humor in the army. Lacking that saving sense which would give the army as an institution a humorous perspective on itself, it is led into by-ways of extreme absurdity.

I do not mean to say that no officer in the army has any sense of humor. Far be that from the truth, for among the army officers are many who are the most charming and companionable of men. But by and large, they are not the officers that rise in the army institution. They are not the heads of departments and corps. The heads of departments and corps, generally speaking, are serious-minded men, heavy in thought and language, who realize their importance in their little world and either refuse or are unable to get sufficient perspective to take a quiet chuckle at themselves, now and then. They are serious-minded folk with a proper appreciation of their own abilities, and in the army they get on. The man with the sense of humor has a more difficult time. It does not pay him. It pays a newspaper man—but where does he get? It doesn't pay an officer for it gets him no place.

For there is no place in the army for humor. War is deadly serious business, even in peace times. In war or peace the heavy and stilted institution known as the army must lumber on. It must not laugh at or with itself, for if it does, forsooth, outsiders will laugh, also. And that is a sacrilege that must by all means be prevented.

With humor lacking see what follows: Ritualism worked out to the nicest detail. Rules and regulations, hundreds and thousands in number, covering everything from the number of shaves per week to the disposition of the dead soldier's effects. Army regulations, the manuals of the different staffs, general orders, special orders, circulars, bulletins,

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circulars and special regulations of the War Department; special and general instructions of the different staff departments; department, division, and camp general orders, special orders, memoranda and bulletins; regimental and company orders and instructions of all kinds. Even the corporal of a squad of eight men pronounces and enforces the rules for his squad tent.

One morning an army staff officer, detailed in Washington, got up too late to shave. As he put on his white shirt, with soft cuffs, he reflected that he had shaved the day before and thought he looked all right. His boots having been shined the day before, he did not take time to shine them again.

On his way down town, he read the headlines from the morning paper, thus failing to see and acknowledge a salute. He arrived at the office a few minutes after 9 o'clock. The coat rack was crowded, and he laid his cap and coat on an extra table in the office. As he sat down to his desk, he unbuttoned the bottom button of his blouse (coat) to prevent its wrinkling. When the head of the department came into the room a few minutes later and commented upon the disposition of the hat and coat our staff officer was so confused that he neither rose to attention nor buttoned his coat.

When the head of the department had gone our officer turned to his work, and in the press of business, did not notice that one of the memoranda that he dictated was started only two inches from the top of the page, and it went to his superior that way.

Receiving a 'phone call, he left the office at 12:15 p. m., going to the Cosmos club for luncheon, with a friend. They talked over their cigars for a few minutes and when, after sticking a copy of the New Republic in his pocket, he started back, he noticed that it was raining, and borrowed an umbrella for the return trip. Having the umbrella in one hand he failed to remove his cigar from his mouth when he saluted another officer on the way, and arrived at the office again at 1:40 p. m.

Now on the surface, all of the above does not seem to be very exciting as a morning. And in civilian life it would not have been—certainly not sufficiently exciting to waste three hundred words in describing, with space in the New Republic so valuable.

But it was a momentous morning, in fact. For from the time he dressed until he came back to the office after lunch, our officer had violated just fifteen regulations and orders. As follows:

1. Officers will shave daily.
2. Officers will shine their boots daily.
3. Uniform regulations prescribe a stiff, white cuff.
4. Officers must render and return salutes.
5. Caps and coats must be on the racks provided.
6. All of the buttons on the blouse must be kept buttoned.
7. Officers stand at attention when visited by a superior.
8. Officers shall be at their desks at 9 a. m.
9. All memoranda shall begin two and one-half inches from the top of the page.
10. Officers will not go to lunch until 12:30 p.m.
11. Officers will return from lunch by 1:30 p. m.
12. Officers will not take more than forty-five minutes for luncheon.
13. Officers will not carry umbrellas.
14. Officers will not salute with cigar in mouth.
15. Officers will carry nothing bulky in their pockets.

So it really was a rather exciting morning, after all. Be it always remembered to the credit of this officer, however, that when he put on his boots, he also put on his spurs. He was completely dressed, therefore. Uniform regulations prescribe that spurs must always be worn with boots, and had our officer forgotten his spurs he rightly would have been consigned to complete and outer darkness!

Now, as a practical proposition, nothing would have happened to the officer in question even if his superior had discovered all of the fifteen violations of rules and regulations. His standing with the chief would have been impaired, perhaps, to an extent, but nothing overt started. True he might have been tried by a general court martial consisting of fifteen officers his equal and superior in rank, but no chief of a department would think of ordering the trial.

But the point is that he could have been tried by court martial had the superior thought fit. The system of formalism and ceremonial ritualism would have permitted such a trial. No matter what his rank was—major, lieutenant-colonel, colonel—and no matter how important a place he might have occupied in the life of the community in which he lived in civilian activities, he was now a member of the military establishment, and under his oath was amenable to and chargeable with a knowledge of all of the rules and regulations.

For example there is that fearsome thing known as "Special Regulations No. 41, 1917," prescribing the regulations for the uniform of the United States Army. It is a closely printed pamphlet of a little less than one hundred pages that prescribes in the greatest detail the proper method of wearing the proper clothing for each sort of occasion, and officers will, as paragraph 21 recites "set an example of neatness and strict conformity to regulations in uniform and equipment."

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That is, for example, "when in full dress, the dress, and the white uniforms, and with the service uniform (except when in the field, at inspection in field equipment, drill, target practice or other duty involving physical exertion) officers will wear white cuffs and a plain, white standing collar, the collar to show one-fourth inch above the collar of the coat."

This is not so bad, for whatever the dress is, the collar is to extend one-fourth inch above the coat collar. But sometimes these details vary with the sort of dress. Aiguillettes, for example, will be worn "with the full dress and with the special evening dress on all occasions, with the dress uniform and white uniform under arms, and with the mess jacket on special occasions."

Of course these aiguillettes are worn differently with different dress. "With the full dress, the dress and the white uniforms, the front pencil will be hung on the top button, and the rear pencil cord, passing under the arm, on the second button, both cards, when the aiguillettes are worn from the right side, being so hung before the coat is buttoned.

"With the special evening dress and mess jacket the pencil cords will be hung on supports correspondingly placed beneath the right lapel in case of the Chief of Staff and aids to the President and beneath the left lapel in case of other officers."

Gloves, cravats, insignia, caps, hats, underwear —there is a prescribed dress and a prescribed position for all of them, from the inside out. Equipment likewise: Note the regulations for insignia upon the saddle cloth. "The bronze insignia of the staff corps, department and coast artillery, and the regiment number in enamel in case of infantry, cavalry and field artillery, will be placed in each flank corner of the saddle cloth, in this position: Draw a line bisecting the angle made by the inner seams of the binding; place the median line of the insignia on this line in the same manner as if the bisector were a vertical line on the collar of the dress coat, the lowest point of the insignia being at the following distance from the intersection of the inner seams." (Perfectly simple.) Then follows the distance for various departments and corps, graded down to hundredths of inches!

But more in detail: "Nose bag or feed bag will be carried as prescribed in orders from the War Department and in authorized equipment manuals, whenever issued." Likewise curry combs and horse brush, with the additional remark that "when such orders and manuals are not issued for particular organizations or arms of the service, these articles will be carried in the off-side saddle bag or the off-side pommel pocket."

The above furnishes only the most fragmentary hint of the extremity of detail outlined in this prissy little volume. And it is all dead serious, and ranks among the most important things in the world. And so regarded not only by the officers of the regular establishment, but by the temporary officers, after their first shock at the absurdity of the thing. The temporary officers, in fact, are even more punctilious about these things than the regular officers if that could be conceived to be possible. It is new stuff to them, and they have the interest that makes them not only dead serious but very meticulous about these details. The trouble with them is that they cannot possibly carry in their heads all of the shadings of details in uniform dress regulations, and often carry about the most pathetic combinations of unsuitable and irregular uniform and equipment. Some of them even wear the points of their spurs up instead of down as prescribed. Than which nothing worse can be said.

I am not going to the point of contending that all of this uniformity is wholly bad. In an institutional unity like the army, there must be the basis of uniformity. The command "squads right; March!" must mean the same thing to soldiers in France and in the Philippine Islands. A silver spread-eagle must connote the rank of colonel throughout the entire army. I would not even assert with complete self-assurance that even the needle point details of uniformity were not all right and proper. I am sure that three years ago, before I got into this army, I would have thought them to be absurd. But three years changes one's point of view somewhat, and properly so.

However, even after three years, I think I have left sufficient notion of relative values to believe that the injection of a little bit of the saving sense of humor into the army thing would give it a perspective that would permit it to get off behind a tree, every now and then, when no one was looking, and chuckle a bit at its little minor struts.

FRED B. JOHNSON, *Major.*

Battle-Song

"PACK up your troubles in your old kit bag, and smi-i-ile, smi-i-ile, smi-i-ile!" Memory of the long march brings it back. "Hu-route step, —March!" the captain had said. And then the American soldiers sang. The rifle barrels gleamed with the only brightness there was in the dusty khaki column save in the wondrous smiles on the faces of singing men. The leggins swung squads and platoons onward in cadence with the song. Such music the world should know.

The highways that wind in and out and about the American cantonments are empty of men now, but the tramp of their feet and the song of their hearts

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are still there. Those very men put them there to stay. They think back to the day of sweat and thirst—and "The Last Long Mile." They hear the chorus. If some had stopped singing then, they never would have come in with the old outfit. How can they forget!

The decks of transports crowded to the rail with men who looked last on the land of home heard a song of soldiers too. No, it was not Home Sweet Home, any man who tried that would have broken his own heart as well as his own head. No man ever did try it. Every man was defiant. Every man was in it strong for Over There. From down the harbor fainter, fainter it came back to those who had not yet embarked—"The Yanks are coming, the Yanks are coming"—until it became a call toward the other shore.

There were other songs, songs that men sang to the villagers of France who listened and marvelled, songs that men sang in the dangerous hours when noise greater even than the voice of nature made their singing safe, songs that men sang in the medicky reek of hospitals and in the stifling holds of mercy ships that brought them home. And now all those songs are of yesterday. Their spirit lives on though their work is done. They are of the stuff that won the war.

Then man shall sing no more as once they sang? And a world at peace must be a world that no longer marches and sings? Nothing to march for, nothing to sing for, there is nothing to stir the hearts of men?

But men still struggle for right and light. New causes were born of old in the very hour of the last shot of the war. Germans were singing the Marseillaise in the streets of an emperor's capital city. Russians were trying to sing something that other nations have not yet understood. And a tall, straight American soldier of the line was looking westward with a new song in his soul.

In America when the soldier is home again and is no longer a soldier, he will hear, and, remembering he was once a soldier, he will join a new song. It shall rise from the streets where there is too little living and too much existence. It shall ring from university hilltops in the answer of chosen men. It shall be from the ranks, but it will have leaders. With humanity and humanity's cause it shall go marching on.

As one loves mother without hating other mothers, so one can love native land without hating other lands. As one loving mother calls all motherhood sacred, so one loving country can hail the triumph of nations bound by the brotherhood of all mankind. And as that brotherhood joins to advance into the growing light of new days, toward the nearer realization of the Kingdom of God on earth, it shall sing a new song.

It shall sing the song that was born of battle and carried on into the greater conflict. For the quarrel of the nations, with all its wasting of things and men, was a narrow strife, and the struggle of all life in all the nations for more life and better life, with all its saving of things and men, is vaster and deeper. But the earth-old fight is the same old fight. It is still the conquest of nature as nature is manifested in man's nature. And through the great war the spirit of that conquest has been spread to the ends of the earth to all the sons of men that they should know it, live in its larger and ever larger meaningfulness, and sing its new song.

Those that labor will sing and they will beat the time with their hammers. They will sing for and sing against, and the world will hear. Eventually the world will sing with them, and then they will no longer sing against the ancient wrongs. Those that together build the strength of a nation will sing as they bring out of it their share in the good of all nations. And slowly, slowly, gathering volume and power will rise the new song of a world that can sing a martial song in the onward march of its peace.

GROVER C. LOUD.

Palestrina on Twenty-Second Street

THE Community Chorus movement has made one important demonstration. It has shown us irrefragably that Americans, after all, do need to sing, can sing for the sheer love of beautiful song, and will sing, once the opportunity is given them. Before, most of us were unconvinced. Indeed, we were quite assured that life in the New World had produced a sort of man who did not need to sing as men in the Old had ever done, a sort of man who did not feel the creative necessity within himself at all, and, submissive to the extreme specialization of the time, was content to pay others to perform for him. For in America one could not, as one could in so many districts of Europe, go through the streets of little cities at nightfall, and hear from taverns and dwellings the sound, like lighted Christmas trees, of people singing together musically. Instead, one found a silence full of chill and isolation. The living and cherished folk-song, the thing that had been the need and solace and joy of entire races of European peoples since immemorial times, the thing that had revealed the musical sense alive within the common man, and had made possible a general musical culture, seemed to have vanished. Apparently, transit to new conditions of life had

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killed it, too. And then, in magnificent refutation, there came the Community Chorus movement. One had but to assist at a single of its assemblages to recognize that nothing essential had been lost. One had but to observe the faces of those gathered at one of the "festivals" to gauge to what a degree the old creative lust smouldered on. They were the faces of those who, we had been told, had been tired completely by a life of misuse, and had lost all desire to make beautiful things. And yet, as the singing rose and spread and grew, and gathered up and made one those thousands of people, there came over faces an incandescence, a liberation that was like the cracking of age-old glaciers. And one knew that, quite as bravely and surely as the flag itself, the musical impulse was "still there."

This discovery has been the chief effect of the Community Chorus movement. In itself, no doubt, it is a considerable achievement. But it is an insufficient one. Only the production of the popular musical impulse in worthy form would have been a quite satisfactory achievement, and it is precisely that which the Community Chorus has not succeeded in effecting. For it has not found a matter through which its gatherings could express themselves really. We have, of course, little American folk-music of any great value. There exist, no doubt, some very beautiful negro spirituals. But the very conditions that have prevented us from singing have prevented us as well from getting a genuine popular art. Popular American music is represented, at best, by Stephen Foster's songs, and for the greater part by concoctions stereotyped either in rhythm or in melody, stereotyped always in harmony, and generally in all three. So at the moment when Americans have begun to revolt against the artistic specialization that has obtained so excessively, and to feel the need of active expression, they have found in their possession no music adequate to their purpose. And the leaders of the Community Chorus movement have shown little ability to cope with this difficulty. They have, no doubt, urged all the American composers to write them songs, and have at times attempted to teach their congregations classical music. But, on the whole, they have shown quite as great a tendency to permit themselves to be led by their helpless gatherings as to lead. And so we find them assembling thousands of people for the purpose of singing Old Black Joe. That, in itself, is a procedure of questionable value. But of the value of assembling thousand of people for the purpose of singing Silver Threads Among the Gold, there can be no question. Latterly, the gatherings appear to have been brought about for the business of teaching the public the words of Over There and other patriotic compositions. And when attempts have been made to lead the assemblages, the result, like the bawling of choruses from The Messiah and The Creation, that was to be heard at some of the "festivals," has been thoroughly unmusical. One comes away from so many of the Community Chorus meetings glad, indeed, that a general need of singing does exist, but deeply disappointed that it has been satisfied only in such uninteresting form.

It may not have been a deeper reverence for the impulse pent in folk that initiated the newest of the popular musical movements, the chorus formed by the People's Music League of the People's Institute of New York for the purpose of studying the music of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Certainly, a very sincere reverence initiated the Community Chorus movement. But it indubitably was a keener sense of the problem. The end of both enterprises is, of course, the release of creative power, the generation of a direct, genuine and fluent gift of expression that will find America its musical idiom, and so continue to enrich national life. The persons responsible for the newer, however, seem to have recognized beforehand that the singing of Old Black Joe and Silver Threads Among the Gold could not give folk any true release, and that what was required to make community singing successful was an education, a musical experience that would draw out and unfold the powers of the singers. It was unfortunate no doubt that such an unfolding could not be gotten through the music with which the general public was familiar. But there was a body of music that would afford it. It was the polyphonic vocal art of the Renaissance. It was the work of a group of composers that has never, perhaps, been excelled in craft and power. Joaquin des Pres is no less pure than Mozart; Vittoria no less passionate than Chopin; Orlando di Lasso no less mighty than Bach. And this music was, physically at least, accessible to anyone who could read a line of notes. Moreover, it was perhaps more germane to our time than was the music of the last two centuries. It had the freedom, the subtlety, the largeness, the simplicity for which the best of contemporary composers were striving. It was devoid of the conventionalism and intellectuality from which they were turning. Indeed, it had been appreciated of late by the tendencies of such "modern" composers as Magnard and Schoenberg. True, it would reveal its beauties only to those who had the patience and the zest for study. But for the men and women who planned the "People's Chorus," the patient study of music for the sake of learning was one of the few forms of action worthy of the impulse that existed in people about them, and the source of a pleasure that the facile singing of facile songs could not afford. But, given a conductor who could manipulate such an enterprise, and teach peo-

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ple to sing Palestrina and Vittoria, and one group, one little community, they knew, would be safely on the road toward self-expression.

Fortunately for the success of the venture, such a conductor was available. Apart even from his rich creative power, M. Ernest Bloch is an exception among musicians. He belongs neither to the large class of those who have a remarkable intellectual grasp of their métier and are nevertheless incapable of incorporating it in a performance, nor to the equally large class of those who have an exquisite gift of interpretation, but want catholicity of taste. He belongs to that very small company of musicians who are at once fertile and thoroughly acquainted with the masterworks of their art. And it was an imagination like his, independent of all musical routine, that was required for such an enterprise. For the tentative of the People's Music League was unconventional completely. There was no idea of " performance " connected with it. The weekly meetings were not to be rehearsals for some concert in Carnegie Hall, with choristers in pink silks and starched shirts. They were to be an end in themselves. Every Monday evening at eight o'clock, the auditorium of the Manhattan Trade School on Twenty-second Street was to be open to all those who wished to come and learn to sing the old polyphonic music. There were to be two hours of work, that was all.

So bold was the project that one doubted whether it could meet with any sort of success at all. Palestrina, Vittoria, Joaquin des Pres, those shadowy dim musicians, to be sung by anybody who wished to learn to sing them! The thought was ludicrous. One had always been made to associate these masters with " concerts of old music," with special occasions far removed from the roar of ordinary existence, with an atmosphere of erudition and primness. It seemed wellnigh impossible that such rare and subtle music could be taught to a chorus of amateurs in, say, as work-a-day a place as the auditorium of the Manhattan Trade School. Palestrina and Twenty-second Street were mutually exclusive, one was sure. And yet, to those of us who assisted at those first meetings, when the chorus of the People's Music League was being born a few weeks ago, it was evident that whatever might hamper the progress of the movement, it was not the fact that there was unrelatedness between music and audience. For none existed. Once more, the senselessness of making compromises, of trying to " go down " to the public, was demonstrated. The folk who composed those little gatherings were no different, save, perhaps, in the fact that they were able to read their parts, from those who sing My Old Kentucky Home at the assemblages of the Community Chorus. Yet M. Bloch did not have to sit long at the piano and explain the motets that had been chosen. Even the first evening, the amazing thing happened that a work of Joaquin des Pres, one of those Ave Marias that are as sweet and serene and luminous as some fresco of Fra Angelico's, as well as a motet of Palestrina's, were sung. For those of us who heard that singing that evening, it was as if, after the unreality and sterility of the season of concert-giving in New York, music had been heard again. The singing was rude, the voices uncertain. But, at least, the art of music was functioning again. And we knew that if only a small portion of those who wanted and needed to sing as these people had sung could be brought to those meetings in the Trade School, if only New York could be told of the lovely and living thing that had been set going in its midst, " flowers would indeed spring from our earth."

PAUL ROSENFELD.

The Next New York

YOU'D get awfully tired if I told you everything about my visit to New York in A. D. 1991. Some things are too complicated even to refer to, many things I've already forgotten, and a number of things I didn't understand. But as I had to return to my work as prison doctor in 1919 after a week of 1991 I grasped a few top impressions that may interest you. I hope I can give them to you straight.

The people on the street took my eye the minute I arrived in town. They looked so pleasing and they wore such stunning clothes. You know that at present, with the long indoor working day and the mixture of embalmed and storage and badly cooked food, the number of pasty-faced and emaciated men and women is very high. I exempt the hearty sweating classes like the structural iron workers and teamsters and porters and even policemen. You could recruit a fine-looking club from the building trades. But stand any afternoon on Fifth Avenue and size up the condition of the passers-by. You see shopgirls in thin cotton who are under-weight, under-slept, miserably nourished and devitalized. You see pimply waiters and stooping clerks. You see weary, fish-eyed mothers who look as if every day was washing day. Scores of sagging middle-aged people go by, who ought to be taken to a clinic. A little earlier in the afternoon it's almost impossible to share the sidewalk with the squat factory hands who overflow at the lunch hour. They're hard to kill, these poor fellows, but they're a puny, stinking, stunted, ill-favored horde. But the greater cleanliness of the people later on, and their better clothes, doesn't put them in a very

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different class. You hear a good deal about the queens you see, but, really, the city streets of New York in 1919, streaming with people who have dun clothes to match dun faces, make you wonder what's the use.

These people in 1991 were good to look at! The three-hour working day had a lot to do with it, of course, and the basic economic changes. But what leads me first to speak of appearances is the huge responsibility that had gone to hygienists. I mean educational and administrative. In 1991, I found, people were really acting on the theory that you can't have civilization without sound bodies. The idea itself was as old as an old joke, a platitude in the mouth of every pill-vendor. But the city was working on it as if it were a pivotal truth, and this meant a total revision of ordinary conduct.

Building the Panama Canal was a simple little job compared to making New York hygienic. Thirty years must have been spent in getting the folks to realize that no man and woman had any hygienic excuse for breeding children within the city limits. It was sixty years, I was told, before it was official that a city child was an illegitimate child. At first mothers kicked hard when the illegitimates were confiscated, but in the end they came to see justice in the human version of the slogan, " an acre and a cow." It got rid of the good old city-bred medical formula that the best way to handle pregnancy is to handle it as a pathological condition. Of course this prohibition movement made all sorts of people mad. A bunch of Gold Coast women held out for a long time on the score of personal liberty. Women had private city babies where the inspectors couldn't get at them. You know, just like private whisky. But in the end the prohibitionists won, and it had an enormous effect on cleaning up Manhattan. It cut out all but the detached and the transient residents, and with the breathing space rules these were far less than you'd suppose. Even with the great area of garden-roofs, the fixed residents were not much more than 100,000.

This demobilization wasn't special to New York. In other places there were much more rigid " units." Hygiene, nothing else, decided the unit size of cities in 1991. The old sprawling haphazard heterogeneous city gave place to the " modern " unit, permanent residences within the city never being open to families that had children under fourteen. For the heads of such families, however, the transportation problem was beautifully solved. Every unit city came to be so constructed that within half an hour of the " fresh air and exercise " homes men and women could reach factories and warehouses in one direction, and offices and courts and banks and exchanges in another. This was after they realized the high cost of noise and dirt. The noiseless, dirtless, swift, freight train took the place of most trucks, and of course the remaining trucks shot up and down the non-pedestrian sanitary alleys. Another thing that interested me was the plexus of all the things that are to be exhibited. This involved a great problem for New York before factories were deported and the moving " H. G. Wells " sidewalks introduced. How to economize time and space, and yet not produce too close a homogeneity, too protein an intellectual and æsthetic and social diet, became a fascinating question. But the devotion of Blackwell's Island to summer and winter art and music, with all the other islands utilized for permanent exhibitions gave the city directors a certain leeway. The islands were made charming. I was quite struck over there, I think, on a new island in Flushing Bay, by the guild-managed shows of clothing, where you sat and watched the exhibits traveling on an endless belt, that stopped when you wanted it to—the kind that art exhibitions adopted for certain purposes. You see the old department stores had passed away as utterly as the delivery horse and display advertising and the non-preventive physician. And the old game of " seasons " and fashions was abandoned soon after the celebrated trial of Frank Crowninshield and Condé Nast for the undermining of the taste of shopgirls. The job of the purchasing consumer was steadily simplified. Youth of both sexes learned fairly early in life what they could and what they couldn't do personally in the use of color. No one thought of copying another's color or design in dress any more than of copying another's oculist prescription. And with the guild consultants always ready to help out the troubled buyer, the business of shopping for clothes became as exciting and intelligent as the pastime of visiting a private exhibition. In this way, backed up by the guilds, a daring employment of color became generally favored. But a big item in this programme was the refusal of the guilds to prescribe any costumes for people who needed medical care first. It was useless, the guilds said, to decorate a mud-pie. And the hygienists agreed.

So you got back always to the doctrine of a sound body. In the hygienic riots of 1936 some horrible lynchings took place. An expert from the Chicago stockyards was then running the New York subways. He devised the upper-berth system by which the space between people's heads and the roof of the car could be used on express trains for hanging up passengers, like slabs of bacon. It was only after a few thousand citizens had failed to respond to the pulmotor that was kept at every station to revive weaklings, that the divine right of human beings to decent transportation became a real pub-

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lic issue. The hygienists made the great popular mistake of trying to save the stockyards man. They knew he had a sick soul. They believed that by psycho-analyzing him and showing he had always wanted to skin cats alive, they could put the traction question on a higher plane. Unfortunately the Hearst of that era took up the issue on the so-called popular side. He denounced the hygienists as heartless experts and showed how science was really a conspiracy in favor of the ruling class. The hygienic riots resulted in a miserable set-back to the compulsory psycho-analysis of all criminals, but the bloody assassination of the leading hygienist of the day brought about a reaction, and within thirty years no judge was allowed to serve who wasn't an expert in psychic work and hygiene. This decision was greatly aided by the publication of a brochure revealing the relation of criminal verdicts to the established neuroses of city magistrates. The promise that this work would be extended and published as a supplement to the Federal Reporter went a long way toward converting the Bar. The old pretensions of the Bar went rapidly to pieces when political use was made of important psychological and physiological facts. The hygienists spoke of " the mighty stream of morbid compulsion broadening down to more morbid compulsion." By 1950 no man with an Oedipus complex could even get on the Real Estate ticket, and the utter collapse of militarism came about with the magnificently scientific biographies of all the prominent armament advocates in the evil era.

I had a surprise coming for me in the total disappearance of prisons. Though I hate to confess it, I was a little amazed when I found that the old penology was just as historical in 1991 as the methodology of the Spanish Inquisition. Scientific men did possess models of prisons like Sing Sing and Trenton and Atlanta and Leavenworth, and the tiny advances in the latter prisons were thought amusing. But the deformity of the human minds and the social systems that permitted such prisons as ours was a matter for acute discussion and analysis everywhere, even in casual unspecialized groups. This general intelligence made it clear to me that social hygiene was never understood up to the middle of the twentieth century. The very name, after all, was appropriated by men afraid to specify the sex diseases they were then cleaning up. Puritanism, serviceable as it was in its time, had kept men from obtaining and examining the evidence necessary to right conclusions about conduct. " Think," said one delightful youth to me, on my first day in 1991, " think of not knowing the first facts as to the physiological laws of continence. Think of starting out after general physical well-being by the preposterous road of universal military service. Think of electing Congressmen in the old days without applying even the Binet test to them. Why, today we know nothing about 'the pursuit of happiness,' fair as that object is, and yet we should no more stand for such indiscriminateness than we'd allow a day to go by without swimming."

The youth, I should specify, was a female youth, what we call a girl. I had nothing to say to her. But my mind shot back to 1919, to which I was so soon to return, and I thought of a millionaire's device I had once seen in Chicago. Deep in the basement of a great factory building there was a small electric-lighted cell, and in this bare cell there was a gymnastic framework, perhaps four feet high, on which was strapped an ordinary leather saddle. In front of the saddle there rose two thin steel sticks, and out of them came thin leather reins. By means of a clever arrangement of springs down below that responded to an electric current, the whole mechanism was able to move up and down and backward and forward in short stabby jerks that were supposed to stir up your gizzard in practically the same way as the motion of a horse. This was, in fact, a synthetic horse, bearing the same aesthetic relation to a real horse that a phonograph song does to a real song that is poured out, so to speak, in the sun. And here, in the bald basement cell with its two barred basement windows (closed), the constipated millionaires take their turns, whenever they can bear it, going through the canned motions of a ride, staring with bored eyes at the blind tiled wall in front of them. So far, in 1919, had the worship of hygeia carried the helot-captains of industry. And from that basement, from that heathen symbol of perverted exercise, men had returned to a primary acceptance of the human body and a primary law that its necessities be everywhere observed. Not such a great accomplishment, I thought, in seventy years. And yet it gave to mankind the leg-up they had to have for the happiness they long for. F. H.

Rhetoric

This is man's noblest edifice. All else
Crumbles and rots. His loftiest stone is thrust
Into the patient and ironic dust.
His iron ships, his scornful citadels
Are scattered by a whiff of fiery shells
That mingle with them in a pool of rust.
But words, mere words, invulnerable, august,
Become his statesmen and his sentinels.

He lets them do his fighting; sits and calls
On them to keep the world from going free.
They build him stubborn forts where he can be
Safe from his manhood, its demands and brawls;
While Life, foiled by this soft security,
Beats futile hands on vague, invisible walls.

LOUIS UNTERMEYER.

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Zionism: Tribalism or Liberalism?

CONCERNING questions of race and religion, even more than those of politics, scientific knowledge is pitifully small and men's convictions are accordingly most intense. But the discussion of Zionism is beset with the additional difficulty that clear and honest thinking is subtly hindered by the fact that really plain speaking is almost unattainable. An exceptionally long history of struggle and suffering has left many sore and sensitive spots in the body of Israel, and the thoughtful Gentile feels the necessity of excessive caution lest he touch any of these tender spots; while the Jew, no matter how emancipated, cannot completely overcome the effects of a traditional attitude which puts group loyalty above devotion to the simple truth, and regards it as the most deadly sin to tell the truth in the hearing of the hereditary enemy. Self-respecting Jews also cannot help leaning backward in expressions which may endanger their being identified with those who for their belly's sake creep out of the Jewish fold. The discussion of Zionism has thus been largely left to those who are more zealous about the triumph of their righteous cause than scrupulous about the justice of their arguments. In normal times mankind is protected from the clamor of zealous enthusiasts by its profound inertia and by the equally emphatic denials which every zealous group sooner or later provokes; so that those who care for impartial truth can generally wait with some confidence for a favorable time when the still small voice of reason can make itself heard. But in these abnormal days, when small but determinedly loud groups are mistaken for vast multitudes and are causing irreparable harm, one cannot wait for slow time to bring its withering refutations.

At a time when millions of Jews are starving and deprived of all opportunity for resuming human life one would be uncommonly hard-hearted to say anything against establishing a legally protected home—in Palestine or anywhere else—for homeless Jews. But Zionism is not merely a philanthropic movement to help the homeless. It claims to be a solution of the Jewish problem; and its emphasis on Palestine rests on a nationalist philosophy which is a direct challenge to all those who still believe in liberalism.

Like all practical human movements Zionism has its roots in a vast variety of complicated human motives, varying from the idealistic and religious to those of frustrated personal and social ambition. It is therefore like other movements supported by diverse and often contrary arguments. Some say, Let us go back to Palestine else the Jewish religion will disappear; while some of the followers of Ahad Ha'am say, Let us go back to Palestine, for there alone can we be agnostic without having to apologize for it to non-Jews. There are those who argue that the Jews are a peculiarly gifted Oriental people and that only in Palestine can they develop their peculiar gifts, while others passionately deny any such peculiarity, but on the contrary assert that just because the Jews are like other people they should have a land of their own like other people, etc. Back, however, of all conflicting views and arguments and uniting all Zionists by a common antipathy is the opposition to the policy of assimilation which would make the salvation of Jews and non-Jews depend on the progress of the slow movement known as enlightenment.

The policy of assimilation was clearly expressed by Spinoza, who pointed out that Jews like other groups are held together by the bond of common suffering; and that as the nations became enlightened and removed their restrictions against the Jews, the latter would adopt the habits of western civilization and the problem would thus be eliminated. As the removal of the traditional restrictions against the Jews did not begin before the end of the eighteenth century, it was only in the nineteenth century that Jews in large numbers began to adopt the habits of western civilization and to profess the faith of rational liberalism which has been its intellectual foundation. But, as restrictions against Jews have nowhere been completely removed, witness for example the social restriction against Jews amongst the supposedly enlightened citizens who form our university clubs, it has left the intellectual Jews peculiarly susceptible to the mystic and romantic nationalism which began in Germany as a reaction against the liberalism of the French Revolution, against the old faith in the power of cosmopolitan reason and enlightenment which overthrew medievalism. In a world where most of us frequently suffer the humiliation of being rejected, what can be more natural than that Jews, who undoubtedly suffer more than their share of it, should take comfort in the conviction that their rejection was due not to their personal failing but to the fact of their descent? This constant tendency to emphasize the consciousness of race, tragically intensified by the increased persecutions which the violence of recent years has caused to flare up, has thus led newly emancipated Jews to adopt the very popular racial philosophy of history, represented on the Teutonic side by Chamberlain's Foundations of the Nineteenth Century, or, on the Russian side, by Slavophils like Katkoff. Zionists fundamentally accept the racial ideology of these anti-Semites, but draw different conclusions. Instead of the Teuton, it is the Jew that is the pure and superior race. All sorts of virtues, love of family, idealism, etc., are the characteristic qualities of *its* spirit. Only in Palestine can this spirit find root and only in the Hebrew language its adequate expression.

The scientific adequacy of the ethnologic, historic and philologic evidence by which all this is supported would be beneath contempt were we not dealing with widespread beliefs of a pathetic intensity and with a cause to which no human heart can deny some sympathy. Nevertheless, these beliefs are radically false and profoundly inimical to liberal or humanistic civilization. History, and Jewish history especially, shows that the claim to purity of race on the part of any civilized people is entirely mythical. It is generally put forth by sacerdotal and other exploiting groups, and when extensively followed always leads to narrowness and sometimes to degeneracy. No great civilization was ever achieved except by a mixed people freely borrowing from others in religion, language, laws and manners. The Jews were such a people when they produced the bulk of biblical literature, and they certainly increased their contribution to civilization when they left Palestine and mixed with other peoples, as the names of Philo, Spinoza, Heine, Karl Marx, Dr. Ehrlich, Antikolski, Bergson and Flexner will readily indicate. Have the French been hindered in their civilization because they gave up their native Gallic for the lan-

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guage of their Roman conquerors? Only a Germanic pedant like Gierke would advise a modern European people to give up being ruled by Roman law because it was imposed from without and did not grow out of the national spirit.

Though most of the leaders of Zionism in America are sincerely and profoundly convinced of the compatibility of Zionism and Americanism, they are none the less profoundly mistaken. Nationalistic Zionism demands not complete individual liberty for the Jew, but group autonomy. What this may mean in practice can be gathered from a recent editorial in our Jewish Chronicle, denying to Professor Adler, or to any other person born a Jew, the right to follow his conscience and to abandon the Jewish religion. Indeed, how could a Jewish Palestine allow complete religious freedom, freedom of intermarriage and free non-Jewish immigration, without soon losing its very reason for existence? A national Jewish Palestine must necessarily mean a state founded on a peculiar race, a tribal religion and a mystic belief in a peculiar soil, whereas liberal America stands for separation of church and state, the free mixing of races, and the fact that men can change their habitation and language and still advance the process of civilization. The supposition that the Jews in Palestine will be more fortunately situated to make contribution to civilization than the Jews of America is contrary to all human experience. There is not a single opportunity offered by Palestine that is not open, to a larger extent, here. Even the Jewish University of Jerusalem will not offer a single course that a student could not just as well, or better, pursue in one of our American universities. The fact, however, is that the American ideal of freedom is just what the Zionists most fear. At bottom they have no confidence that with complete toleration and full freedom Judaism can hold its own in the open field; hence the plea among the more candid of the Zionists that "Americanism is our greatest danger."

Zionists always speak of themselves as idealists and regard the great majority of Jews who refuse to be moved by their appeal as materialists. The word idealism covers a multitude of sins, and one of these is a disinclination to look actual difficult problems in the face and take refuge, instead, in arbitrary dreams. (Incidentally, the idealistic Zionists are quite willing to ignore the rights of the vast majority of the non-Jewish population of Palestine, quite like the Teutonic idealists with their superior kultur.) The actual Jewish problem in all countries is a problem of adjustment, how the members of a certain historic group may learn to live in peace and mutually profitable intercourse with the other inhabitants. As the number of Jews that can in any year be settled in Palestine is much less than the annual natural increase of the Jewish population in such countries as the United States, Russia, Poland or Austria, it follows that the Jewish problem is one that must be settled in each country separately. How will the establishment of a small politically autonomous Jewish community in Palestine help the much greater body of American Jews to play their part worthily in the great republic? The supposition that the Jews of Palestine will necessarily be on a higher spiritual plane and serve as an inspiration to American Jews is as absurd as the argument that an independent Liberia will elevate the position of the American Negro. Indeed, there are few arguments for Palestine that do not find their parallel on behalf of Liberia.

One of the great leaders of American Zionism, a man whom I highly revere, said "the policy of enlightenment has failed. Enlightened countries like France, Germany and England have not solved the Jewish problem. We must try to solve it ourselves in Palestine." This seems to me an easy but profound error. Enlightenment is not something which any country has as yet perfectly achieved, but it is true that to the extent that the nations have become enlightened the condition of the Jews has become ameliorated. Enlightenment is a painfully slow process, as painful as the winning of our daily bread from the soil; hence our frail humanity is always ready to listen to some romantic get-rich-quick scheme to attain a heaven-on-earth where all of us can live happy forever afterwards. A favorite device of this kind is the attempt to revive a supposed glorious past. But, even if the history of Palestine were glorious—which the reader of the Book of Kings or Josephus can see was hardly the case—the glory of Palestine is as nothing to the possible glory of America. If history has any lesson at all it is that never have men accomplished anything great by trying to revive a dead past. Great things are accomplished not by imitation of the past, but by resolutely facing the actual definite problems before us; and to those who face the problems of the harmonious adjustment of the Jew to American life Zionism is a distraction, not an answer.

Yet, life has its peculiar ironies, and it would be an unusually ill wind that blew no good. Despite its emphasis on tribal loyalty, Zionism has clarified the problem of the Jew by giving it a more just setting. The older ideal of assimilation had degenerated into an ideal of blind aping of Gentile ways. Yet, obviously, Jews could not make any contribution to American civilization by mere imitation or acceptance. Zionism has rendered the supreme service of increasing men's self-respect, and has helped men to realize that they must be ready to give of their own past experience as well as to accept. For this the American ideal of civil and political liberty still provides a fair field.

Liberalism is the traditional American policy, our heritage from the eighteenth century philosophy, which expressed itself in two revolutions. But precisely because it is a tradition it is apt to fall into desuetude and to receive an empty lip-worship. The stress of recent events calls out loudly the need for a refreshing faith in individual freedom and enlightenment. The ideal of liberal enlightenment is a difficult one. Progress toward it is painful and by no means certain. With the fall of the Roman Empire civilization received a terrible setback, and it is by no means impossible that as a result of this war and the intensification of the small nationality idea Europe and a great deal of the rest of the world will be Balkanized; that is, organized on a tribal basis, as it was in the Dark Ages. But, whether tribalism triumphs or not, it is none the less evil, and thinking men should reject it as such.

MORRIS R. COHEN.

Posters

I

Under the round white moon
The idiots sit in a row
With open mouths and glazed eyes
While ghost foxes and were-wolves
Like their hands with red drooling tongues.

II

Columbine, lying dead upon her couch,
And chalk-faced Pierrot, lighting the last of the tapers at her feet,
Looking at the reflection of his face in the long pier glass—
Two mountebanks staring across a corpse.

ELIZABETH COATSWORTH.

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CORRESPONDENCE

The Woman's Land Army

SIR: The Woman's Land Army was organized as a war emergency organization in the Spring of 1918. Its general plan was to place units of girls in self-sustaining groups where they would be available to a group of farmers for labor. During the Summer of 1918 there were units in twenty different states, showing an enrollment of 10,000 farmerettes in camps and 5,000 in emergency units. The work was carried on in California, Connecticut, District of Columbia, Illinois, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Virginia and Washington. And the girls were successful in fruit picking and packing, dairy work, hoeing, truck gardening, grain, silo work, haymaking, general farming, handling tractors and machinery, threshing, care of stock and harvesting.

When the season closed the latter part of September, the Department of Labor proposed the affiliation between the Woman's Land Army and the U. S. Employment Service, to aid in the usefulness of the organization during the coming year. This programme of affiliation has been completed and accepted, and the Woman's Land Army is now a government organization, and Mrs. William H. Hubert has been appointed the national director.

The federal organization of the Land Army, under Mrs. Hubert's direction, plans to place as many women as may be needed on the farms during the coming season, in units or groups. Such women will be trained as fully as possible in agricultural colleges and in Land Army training camps. The problem of adequate training has been placed under the expert direction of Miss Edith Diehl, who was the director of the Wellesley Training Camp during the past season.

The Camp Management Committee of the National Land Army organization will take up such questions as sanitation, recreation, diet, health, hours of work and contracts with employers. Carefully considered standards and conditions of work will be recommended by the committee after consultation with experts. The work of women on the land is to be so standardized as to ensure to the worker both a sound economic proposition and a real physical benefit. The Land Army has always stood for an eight-hour day, emergency overtime work, paid for by the hour, being permitted when necessary to save crops.

The workers in the Land Army, Mrs. Hubert has said, will receive wages adjusted in accordance with the wage paid for farm labor in each state. The experienced woman will be assured a good wage, and even the "green hand" receives something while she is learning. It is not the intention of the Land Army to introduce women in farm work at a wage which would under-cut the men farmhands and so possibly deprive male labor of necessary jobs. Opportunities for placing women in agriculture will, however, be immeasurably advanced, according to Mrs. Hubert's belief, by the fact that their recruiting and placement is now authorized and controlled by the government. The Land Army will work entirely in cooperation with the Farm Service Division of the U. S. Employment Service.

Land Army units will be established under competent supervision. In addition to this protection of women in a new field of work, Mrs. Hubert believes that the standards set by the organization will undoubtedly serve to establish a fair status for all women who may desire to take up farm work. Many such women will probably be placed individually through the Employment Service.

The unit plan of the Land Army is considered to be not only advantageous in itself as an expedient method in meeting the present need, but as a means toward a new career for women who may take up and manage their own farms, or who may eventually be placed individually as farm laborers at the various tasks for which it has been proved they are especially well fitted. Moreover, the Land Army serves to bring together city and country.

Wherever a unit has been established, it has helped to form a community center and a community spirit in rural districts. The women who have gone out to the farms under the stress of the world's need for food have learned to love farm work, to adapt themselves to country life and to bring to that life a new enthusiasm.

It is the prophecy of the Land Army that these women will be the nucleus of the greatly needed movement, away from the cities and back to the land.

HELEN K. STEVENS.

New York City.

Camp Versus Senate

SIR: The plan for a League of Nations to Prevent War, never had appealed to me as anything more than a hopeless case, until the last few months, and especially have I come to favor such a plan since President Wilson, together with the other Allied representatives, has set forth in substantial form, ways and means for a better understanding between the nations of the world.

It is very true that no League of Nations can ever be organized that is war-proof. No national government is proof against civil war. By wise legislation on the part of the nation, however, its separate states will have no antagonism against the national government. The national and state governments of the United States do not remain in harmony because the national government holds in readiness a trained army to suppress any uprising, but because the national laws are made for the benefit of the states and not to suppress them, to protect them, not to take away their freedom. The nations of the world are coming to be very close to each other. No nation can live unto itself. Should not there be an organization among the nations of the world that will promote cooperation, that will kill secret treaties, that will establish rules of commerce, that will make provision for a definite understanding between nations as to armament and make other such laws that will protect the nations involved and promote cooperation between them and yet not interfere with the freedom or sovereignty of any of the nations represented? Is it not as necessary that the nations of the world work together in order to preserve the welfare of the peoples of the world as it is that merchants or any other business men work together to make the business safe for themselves? As the draft for the League now stands, it seems to me, that the nations propose to prevent future wars by such a cooperation and such a friendship between themselves that international disputes will not be likely. To prevent rather than to cure is the aim.

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Congressmen and Senators in Washington have taken delight in criticising the draft for the League as it now stands. But what have they offered to replace the plans laid out by the representatives of the Allied nations? Their criticism has been bitter and unhelpful rather than in a spirit to assist in the great work that is before the world. They simply "cuss" Wilson and offer no solution—the old spirit that the party opposing the administration has always shown and which unfortunately did not die during the war and still lives to hamper the work of the peace conference. The plan for the League of Nations should be criticised, but the stupidity of Senators to criticise the measure for political reasons is something that public sentiment will look upon as very un-American, and it is indeed unfortunate for Europe to have to look upon the stubbornness of the representatives of the nation that is playing the leading role in this movement. Congress was behind the nation in voting war, in passing the bill to raise our army by the draft, and in the late foreign relief fund and it will be tardy in coming across with a decision favoring the League, but it will ultimately come for the people will demand it. I think it fortunate that the present draft of the plan makes provision for neutral and even enemy countries to enter the League for it will only serve its greatest purpose when all nations are its members. President Wilson's trip to Europe will not be in vain if he persuades France that she must make a peace that she will not be herself ashamed of in fifty years. Though Germany can never pay for the wrongs she has practiced in this war, she can best redeem herself by establishing a democratic government in which her people will be allowed to speak their own minds and not the minds of their masters, and in this undertaking she should be as unhampered as is safe. Much can be said against President Wilson. He has made political blunders and has acted on his "own hook" too often probably, but it must be admitted that our President, has, from the day he entered the White House, worked for the masses and no man in modern history has fought for so huge a mass.

JOSEPH PEELE.

Camp Sevier, S. C.

Quarter the United States

SIR: I have read Mr. E. L. Master's letter, published in the New Republic of January twenty-fifth, with both sympathy and amusement—sympathy with his disappointment in witnessing the Democratic party disavow its party principles in the vote for prohibition, and amusement over his emotional burst of feeling in regard to the action. And, too, a dispassionate reader of the letter could find room for surprise in seeing that the position he takes shows him in the attitude of having overlooked the most prominent political and social feature of the times, namely the evident fact that the country is passing through a transitional stage; and that, in consequence, party lines and principles are being changed and remolded.

The people are today in the position of a growing boy, old government constitutions and party principles are to them as his misfit trousers. I think it is plainly indicated in the trend of affairs that, for good or ill, the idea of unity in the country's life should be given a fair trial. The states-rights experiment has broken down, in some ways to threaten the rights of the people as people, and this very seriously. Still, it is clear that nothing yet appears in the ideas of the time which might be considered a feasible working basis for a change. The representation of the people by means of the present division into so many states has given us, through the multiplication of the states, a clumsy, unhandleable and needlessly expensive government machine. Commonsense tells us that the road to take in getting out of this state of things is that of some kind of consolidating unity. Might it not prove a step in the right direction to agree upon a division of the country into four sections, this according to the sectional interests of each? Of course this would nullify states-rights, but that would be a valued gain in many ways. Could not a four-fold division be made to serve the interests of the whole country in a better way than now obtains through representation by states? Certainly it looks as though the voice of the people could be better heard through a small number of interested representatives than we now hear it in the clamor of the multitude now composing the government.

S. A. A. MCCAUSLAND.

Lexington, Missouri.

The Y. M. C. A. in Russia

SIR: The article in your issue of December 21st entitled Self-Imposed Handicaps contains the following sentence: "It is commonly understood that upon the installation of the socialistic regime in Russia the Young Men's Christian Association was banished from that land." This is contradictory to the facts.

Prior to 1917 the Association existed in Russia in fact but not in name in one single organization known as the Mayak, or "Lighthouse," in Petrograd. During the months immediately following the downfall of the autocratic regime the Association was able rapidly to expand and to use its own name. The Kerensky Cabinet extended to us the broadest concessions given the Association by any government during the war, most of which provisions were reaffirmed by the Central Soviet government upon coming into power. Our work was now and again made the subject of attack by newspaper writers on the ground of capitalistic support, but the chief government authorities consistently continued their moral support and co-operation. It is very probable that some of this support was given with the political motive of establishing their government diplomatically in the good graces of America. It is certain that the attitude of some of these official representatives changed to coolness and even hostility when it became clear that the United States would not recognize the Bolshevik government. On the other hand, the good faith of many others in supporting us because of our cultural and humanitarian objectives is beyond question.

When, in September, 1918, we finally withdrew all members of the Association staff from Bolshevik Russia, because disorder had reached a point where further service was impracticable, certain members of the Central government invited the continuance of our work and guaranteed the personal safety of all secretaries who would remain and who would declare essentially their allegiance to the Bolshevik government.

E. T. COLTON.

CORRECTION

In our issue of February 22nd we erroneously imputed to the president of the university of Montana a share in the responsibility for suspending Dr. Levine from his teaching position. Not President Sisson, but Chancellor Elliott undertook the invasion of academic liberty described in our editorial. We are informed that President Sisson not only had no hand in the suspension, but did not even approve of it.

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After the Play

IN Leslie's Weekly for the first of the month, Mr. Norman Hapgood asks several questions not easy to answer. A few weeks ago, writing about Mr. Shaw's plays and Sir James Barrie's, I said that Barrie "has no new ideas, he has not many ideas of any kind, ideas are not his affair." Mr. Hapgood asks: "What are the new ideas of Mr. Shaw, whom Q. K. seems to credit with such possessions? None of his ideas seem to me as original as the idea from which sprang Dear Brutus, or that of The Old Lady Shows Her Medals, or of What Every Woman Knows; and if we speak not of originality, but of newness, of novelty, I am not sure I have met in the field of art an idea of any weight that could qualify. To my mind there are more ideas in Hamlet than in all the plays Shaw ever wrote; only Shakespeare drops a great idea in a line, or a word; he does not make a play out of it; he makes a play out of characters and plot, with the ideas in their suitable place, except occasionally when, for a single speech, the author seems to say, 'Oh, hang the character! I must get this out of my system.' Dramatically speaking," Mr. Hapgood inquires, "what is an idea? What is a new idea? Is it Man and Superman, or is it Falstaff? Or, to make the question easier, is it The Doctor's Dilemma, or is it The Twelve-Pound Look?"

When I said Barrie "has no new ideas, he has not many ideas of any kind, ideas are not his affair," I didn't know my own meaning any too well. My temptation now, when pulled up by Mr. Hapgood's pertinent and searching questions, is to try my hand at such a definition of "idea" as would hide this fact and fortify my statement. Perhaps I should make this attempt if I thought I could get away with it. The attempt I prefer, in the circumstances, is to explain, to Mr. Hapgood and also to myself, both where we shall always differ, and where our apparent differences are due to my failure to say what I meant. To save time, I'll be as dogmatic about the whole thing as I really feel about a few parts of it.

When we speak of ideas we mean something in which Lucretius, for example, is richer than Herrick or Homer or Chaucer. By general consent Lucretius is a greater poet than Herrick, and Homer is a greater poet than Lucretius. But who can say whether Lucretius or Chaucer is the greater? To how many readers of poetry can such a question be made to seem real? Milton's sonnet to Mr. Lawrence, in which there is a trace of one unimportant idea, is better poetry than Natur und Kunst, into which Goethe put more profound thought than even he often packed into fourteen lines. From all of which my conclusion is that I must have been asleep the other day if I implied a wish that Barrie were richer than he is in ideas of this kind. I should as soon think of regretting that Twelfth Night contains fewer ideas than Troilus and Cressida.

Indeed, so far am I from overvaluing either plays in which these explicit ideas are abundant, or any one of these ideas when I hear it spoken on the stage, that I often find myself ungrateful to a dramatist who is this kind of thinker. Take the most familiar lines in Tasso, Es bildet ein Talent sich, etc. Yes, it contributes to our conviction that Goethe is rich in ideas, it is a born thinker's thought, but has anything happened in the play to make us care, more, I mean, than we did care when we bought our seats, whether this particular idea be true or false? Isn't an idea expressed in stage dialogue almost wasted there unless so timed and placed that upon hearing it we have immediately an emotion of assent or dissent, whichever the dramatist willed us to have? Ungrateful questions, I call these, because they forget what we all know, namely, that the more profound an idea is, the fitter to be a part of the world's stock of wisdom, the less likely is a dramatist, even the greatest, to succeed in imagining for it a context which will make it glow. After all, the great moments in Shakespeare are seldom his greatest thoughts. They are Iras's advice to Cleopatra:

> Finish, good lady; the bright day is done,
> And we are for the dark.

An idea is also something a dramatist can make a play out of. Yes, a whole play; one idea of this kind to one play, although the play may throw off many other ideas. Our affection for our children is stronger than our affection for our parents. Paul Hervieu took this idea, essayed a rigorous demonstration of it, and the result was La Course du Flambeau. We prefer the company of those upon whom we have conferred benefits to the company of those who have done us a good turn. Labiche and somebody took this idea, essayed an easy-going illustration of it, and we have Le Voyage de M. Perrichon. "The predominancy of custom is everywhere visible, insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before, as if they were dead images and engines, moved only by the wheels of custom." This idea of Bacon's, brightened by the one exception, by one high light of hope, might have been the root-idea of Dear Brutus. The fittest to survive would not be the fittest if the handicapper hadn't allowed them such heavy odds—something like this is the root-idea of The Admirable Crichton.

His interest in ideas of this order is the starting point, my guess would be, of many Barrie plays. Our interest remains sometimes in the idea, or rather in the translation of the idea into concrete events and relations, as with Dear Brutus; sometimes shifts from the idea to the persons who not only express it but have an independent life of their own, as with What Every Woman Knows; and sometimes, as with The Admirable Crichton, we cannot easily tell which interests us more, the idea or the chief character.

In the last part of that sentence I have implied my answer to Mr. Hapgood's question: Is Falstaff an idea? In none of the senses in which I am now using the word is any character an idea. In one mood a dramatist casts his eye for character upon an acquaintance, notices the accentuation or effacing of traits noticed before, confirms or questions earlier impressions, sets going a mechanism of cross-references of which the object is to find out what that acquaintance is like, fills him out in imagination or removes his irrelevancies. In another mood the same dramatist is reflecting upon life. Dramatic ideas come to him in this second mood. When he is in the first he creates characters. From the finished play it is often impossible to tell in which mood it had its first beginnings, for a dramatist of genius enriches his work, no matter how it first occurred to him, with human beings, human relations, secondary intentions, wisdom explicit or implied. Only in the exceptional extremes, in work that is a close conformer to type, do we easily perceive the marks which differentiate the portrait-play from the play which is a proposition made flesh.

In another article I shall try to distinguish between ideas and new ideas, "dramatically speaking."

Q. K.

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What to Read

WE need a good analysis of the American writers who favor Bolshevist Russia. Personally I favor a religious theory for them. By Western civilization, after all, one usually means the progressive civilization of Northern Protestant Europe, with its dependencies in North America. The event upon which this whole civilization still pivots is, I imagine, the Reformation and the widespread Puritan revolution, with its gospel of individualism, its passion for education and its acceptance of industrialism. Russia's civilization, so far as an ignoramus can tell, has had no such experience. Russia never underwent any such popular convulsion as Germany or England or the whole Protestant North. The best it did was to shrug off serfdom very imperfectly, at a late date. Consequently it preserves today an attitude toward life, cultivated or crude, which is sharply at variance with the attitude of Northern Protestant Europe and its derivative America. Under such circumstances it is the habit of Northern Protestants either to patronize or to "swipe." Send a Charles Dickens to the United States or a Mark Twain to Europe and you get the pugnacious reaction. Send Henry James to Paris or Emerson to London and you get reverence, refined men crooking the pregnant hinges of the knee. If neighbors are so difficult to interpret, think of Russia, separated not only by miles but by real differences in common sense. The traditional Northerner thinks these differences in common sense mean Russian inferiority.

A few Northern Protestants, however, are so ripe for a change in their own tradition that the experience of non-Puritan Russia is a revelation. Where the imaginative Englishmen and Germans and Scandinavians took their compensation in Italy in the nineteenth century, the imaginative Northerners now seem to find it in Russia—and with larger consequences to themselves and the world. It is chiefly these Europeans who are ready to shed, not their standards but their presumptions. It is they who can best realize the extraordinary value of Russia's independent evolution. And on entering a life still saturated, still marshy and boggy and swampy, with religious ideas, they usually experience a liberation of much in their own characters and personalities which Western civilization had taught them to goose-step. After breaking the goose-step, however, the uneven Russian discipline of life seems to cause much mental sprawling. Hence a riotous confusion of opinion, through which one can only be sure of the penetrating allurement of Russia to Westerners aching for a change.

Test this theory on John Reed, Louise Bryant, Ernest Poole, Maurice Baring, Arthur Ransome, Albert Rhys Williams, Hugh Walpole, Arthur Bullard, H. G. Wells and the rest. The less these writers' conventionality and fear, the more they seem to swim deeply into Russian thought and feeling. Mr. Arthur Ransome is a good type of the Westerner who had de-Puritanized himself long before he went to Russia. The same may be hinted of John Reed. Men like Ernest Poole, on the other hand, assert their Western common sense when they feel themselves slipping under the seductiveness of Russia. They are attracted to Russia and Russians, being artists, but just as they begin to go under they remember the superior civilization of Chicago or South Amboy, and they jerk back. Perhaps they are right. Mr. G. B. Shaw, at any rate, shows good old Northern Protestantism in wanting Russia left outside the League of Nations. There is nothing of the great, irregular, fuscous, wild, windy flame of Russia about the incandescent Shaw.

Racial factors are so vague that one hesitates to deal with them, but the recent death of a member of the Palgrave family does bring to mind that effective anthology title, the Golden Treasury. The father of Francis Palgrave, who created The Golden Treasury, was Francis Palgrave, originally Francis Cohen, son of Meyer Cohen. Francis Cohen became a Christian in order to be called to the Bar, from which Jews were banned in 1827, and he changed his name to Palgrave. There is a good deal in The Education of Henry Adams about the Palgraves, but no impertinent suggestion, so far as I remember, that the name Golden for a treasury had an Oriental gleam.

Owen Wister has finished a book called The Ancient Grudge, an attempt to do justice to Great Britain from the American standpoint. The value of this book will depend altogether on its intellectual honesty. A few months since the Macmillans published another work on not dissimilar lines, Imperial England, by Cecil Fairfield Lavell and Charles Edward Payne, which was a piece of untoward special pleading. In a commendable desire to give full credit to the civilizing influence of Britain, the authors polished up the shadows too brightly. To dismiss Burke's speeches on India as mere "thunderings" is to attempt the impossible. The immense power of scrupulous honesty in historical writing, as a man like Acton shows, is the propulsion that it unfailingly gives to the ideas we live by. On this principle Anglo-American understanding can be easily promoted, but not by blind propagandists.

One of the persistent rumors of the American book trade is that Mr. Christopher Morley is funny. Here is a sample of his fun, sent out by the Bookman: "John Masefield became a poet because he found a copy of Chaucer in a bookshop in Yonkers. Lord, Brooklyn ought to be able to turn out as great a poet as Yonkers." Is this funny? Mr. Morley writes pleasant, imaginative essays in a blowsy style, but the Brooklyn joke? Even fifty years ago it wasn't very funny.

Carl Eric Lindin writes from Woodstock, New York: "It is curious that a writer, so well informed as Salann seems to be, should make the mistake of mixing up the Nobel Peace prize with the Nobel Literature prize. Rudyard Kipling was not awarded the Peace prize, but received the Literature prize in 1907." This is the sad fact, but it is only technically sad. Nobel the maker of explosives left his literary prize for the work most remarkable *dans le sens d'idéalisme*. The men who award the prize pick out the Rudyard Kiplings as well as the Baroness von Huttens, and thus are morally responsible for our confusion.

Letters to the People of India on Responsible Government, by Lionel Curtis. (Macmillan.)

The Metaphysical Theory of the State, by L. T. Hobhouse. (Macmillan.)

Arthur Machen, "a novelist of ecstasy and sin," by Vincent Starrett, a book of 250 copies. (Walter M. Hill, Chicago.)

The British Navy in Battle, by Arthur H. Pollen. (Doubleday Page.)

A new edition of Arthur Symons's The Symbolist Movement in Literature. (Dutton.)

SALANN.

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The War State

Government and the War, by Spenser Wilkinson. New York: Robert M. McBride. $1.50.

PROFESSOR WILKINSON'S book is in many ways a notable achievement. Rarely has the science of war in its relation to government been so lucidly analyzed. If some of the hypotheses—the necessity, for instance, of beating Germany on the field of battle—have failed to secure verification in the event, that hardly lessens the essential value of its general standpoint. Broadly speaking, Professor Wilkinson has attempted to relate the classic principles of Clausewitz to the Anglo-German situation. He is concerned to show what war involves, in the first place in its relation to government, and, in the second, in its relation to administration. His argument on both counts is at once powerful and persuasive.

It is simpler to take the second first. Here Professor Wilkinson urges that military and naval policy can each be divided into two classes. The one is concerned with strategy and is essentially a matter for the experts. The other is the provision of men and supplies to feed that strategy and is, equally essentially, a matter for the civilian. He recognizes that military policy must at every stage be subordinate to the foreign policy of the state. What he is eagerly concerned to deny is the thesis, seemingly adopted by Mr. Churchill in the problem of the Dardanelles, that the Chief of Military Operations is to be subordinate to a minister of war who, though a civilian, passes upon the finality of recommendations he cannot, in the nature of things, possibly hope to understand. In his view, therefore, the directors of naval and military operations ought always, in time of war, to be members of the cabinet and directly responsible to the Prime Minister for the advice they proffer. He is impatient with half-measures like the British Committee of Imperial Defense; and the special position occupied by Sir William Robertson seems to him merely a step along the right road. The Chief of the General Staff must, as he urges, be a member of the Supreme Executive Committee charged with the direction of affairs if the theoretical principles of the art of war are in any full sense to be obeyed.

There can be no doubt that at least one aspect of this theory has been abundantly proved by the war. It is now clear that the business of supply need not, and on the modern scale of operations cannot, be entrusted to the Chief of Staff. His business is the indication of his needs; it is purely a matter of business administration to supply those needs. That was realized both in England and France by the separation of the supply of munitions from the general functions of the War Office; and, in fact if not in name, this was substantially true of the United States also. But it is more difficult to follow Professor Wilkinson in his argument that the Chief of Staff ought logically to be a member of the Executive Committee which directs the general policy of which military operations are only a part. For that Committee, in the nature of things, travels widely beyond a soldier's purview. General Pershing may well advise on the terms of an armistice, but there is no a priori reason to suppose that he has anything of value to contribute on, for example, the territorial terms of peace. Indeed, German experience in 1870 would seem to suggest that association of the soldier with the direction of policy will inevitably result in the subjection of the civilian to the soldier. If Marshal Foch insists on the Rhine frontier as a member of the French Cabinet, he would affect European policy far more profoundly than he would merely as a soldier offering an opinion on a point of pure strategy. The Cabinet of civilians knows that there are considerations other than strategy, and they may face the difficulty of not being able to afford the loss his resignation on political disagreement would involve. The truth is that a successful soldier will almost always be the dictator of any cabinet to which he belongs. Even Lord Kitchener, who was an administrator rather than a strategist, seems thoroughly to have subdued every member of the British Cabinet until shortly before his death. That was lamentable not only because his management actually proved of less value than might have been expected, but also because it prevented, during the period of his power, the free exercise of his colleagues' minds. Nor is the problem of dismissal unimportant. A soldier-subordinate can, as Mr. Lloyd George has amply demonstrated, be dismissed without much difficulty; it is practically impossible to dismiss a soldier-colleague. For he can always lay claim to an expert knowledge which, on the basis of an equal position, really renders him impregnable. And there is the further danger that foreign policy will become subordinated to the demands of the military unless the latter is politically inferior. It is final historic experience that the soldier, as such, has no place in politics.

Of perhaps even greater importance is the view his attitude to war compels Professor Wilkinson to take to the theory of the state. For him it is an entity which transcends in importance all other interests with which it comes into contact. In the result, foreign, naval, and military policies are all of them withdrawn from the ordinary areas of party conflict because the unity of the state necessitates a special attitude towards them. A distinction between the state and its constituent members is insisted upon in order to show that the state interest has an importance over and above all other interests. Professor Wilkinson is therefore urgent that human welfare has a special relation to the state which it bears to no other association; and, from his standpoint rightly, he denies the validity of the thesis it has become customary to associate with the name of Mr. Norman Angell. The ground of this denial has a special interest. "In the state," writes Professor Wilkinson, "and in the state alone force and right are identified. . . . But it is doubtful whether the state could retain this character if it ceased to be compelled by the existence of rivals . . . the purpose of war is resistance to wrongdoing and the assertion of right."

It is at least interesting to have the opposition to pacifism placed upon so high an ethical ground. But the truth surely is more complex than Professor Wilkinson assumes. The interest of the state may be distinct from that of its individual members; the difficulty yet is that it tends to get associated with the interest of a certain portion of its members who operate it to their private advantage. Foreign policy may be better if it is pursued without political opposition; but the truth surely is that foreign policy is, in large part, economic policy and it is, in each case, matter for careful speculation whether state advantage is in fact thereby obtained. The argument that force and right are identified in the state rests upon the clear fallacy of failing to distinguish between the declaration of right and its realization. The state may philosophically exist for the good life; but while men can still starve to death it is mere travesty to assume that the postulate is politically adequate. Nor is there the least reason to suppose that the moral character of the state is dependent upon the existence of rivals. On the contrary, nothing has tended historically

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to deprave the character of the state so much as the assumption here implied that the good of one state implies the degradation of its neighbor. In economic science, that was the patent error of mercantilist theory; and no one has yet answered the onslaught of Adam Smith upon it. But there is, in fact, no department of social life to which it is not applicable.

Nor is there historical justification for the argument that the purpose of war is resistance to wrongdoing. War is not an end but an instrument and the question of its moral content will be variously judged. The wars of the French Republic, for instance, which Mr. Wilkinson adduces as proof that war is not merely waged for sordid ends, at no point bear out his analysis. The wars of the Revolution are the clearest instance of an assault upon an outworn economic and social structure; and if Pitt and his allies were not the stubborn defenders of the ancient régime it is difficult to know by what term they are to be distinguished. What lies at the bottom of Professor Wilkinson's mind is the feeling that without war there is no means of progress; and this he reveals in this insistence that right can be established only through contest. But Jhering, to whom he refers, did not mean by his struggle of ideals for survival the actual test of physical battle. The contest of the spirit, as the history of Christianity has shown, is far more real and enduring than the contest of the flesh. The state may have a right to call upon its citizens to die in a righteous cause; but the fact remains that the question of righteousness will always ultimately depend not upon the authority of the state, but the judgment of individual minds.

The real value of Professor Wilkinson's book perhaps lies in a direction that is unexpected. What its analysis at bottom demonstrates is the incompatibility between democracy and war. Not merely the laws are silent amid the clash of arms; the babel of tongues must be hushed also. Men must be content, for the sake of survival, to suppress their personality before the Moloch of authority. They must neither question nor discuss lest the effort to conquer be impaired by disunity. War, in fact, guarantees exactly that monotonous uniformity of opinion which Professor Wilkinson postulates for universal peace. The life of democracy is in discussion, and the child of discussion is variety. No one who has lived through the last four years will be inclined to doubt that the vastest evil of war is the destruction of ideas it entails. Force and right are identified in the state only when the state is certain of its survival; once its existence is threatened, the truth is demonstrated that the rule of law is a rule of peace. Nothing brings out so clearly this vital conception than Professor Wilkinson's brilliant advocacy of an alien doctrine.

H. J. L.

The Poetry of Gladys Cromwell

The Gates of Utterance, by Gladys Cromwell. Boston: Sherman French Co. $1.00.

AMONGST the poets that have been lost to us through the great calamity of the war is Gladys Cromwell. She had published but one volume of verse with some groups of poems in certain magazines and reviews. But the best of these poems reveal her as a younger sister of the great poets. She was steadily moving towards a finer achievement, and the group of poems published, Star Song, had a more assured workmanship than any she had previously published. Everything she wrote came out of a spiritual experience, out of a reality brooded over and made her own, and elevated by an heroic quality of mind. There lives in the poetry she has left us the impress of a distinguished spirit, and of a heart high and faithful winning illumination for itself.

What impressed me in every reading of her Gates of Utterance was the personal quality of the poems. Here was a first book that had the accent of actuality. But there were no novelties, no mannerisms. The personality divulged was grave and reserved. There was nothing facile in the poems. Indeed, in their workmanship there was often something halting and unachieved. But if there was no fluency there were moments of mastery —moments when the words became alive with spirit:

Divided by the dark,
Our foils converge. A spark
You kindled not, My Enemy,
A spark I never drew
From bitter fires that sear me through and through
Gleams fitfully.

That spark, that little light
Is lit where foils unite.
It lives in spite of us, My Foe;
In intervening space,
This little eye that darts from place to place
Sees clear, I know.

Opinions are not one,
And man's criterion
Is not in us. Between, above,
The cross that weapons frame,
My Adversary, gleams a truth whose name
Might still be Love.

There was one tune that Gladys Cromwell always wrote triumphantly to—the Elizabethan tune. When she struck it she became fluent with beautiful words and imagery:

As clouds lie in the west
My fairest pleasures rest
In you, their element
Of being. Loath to die
They ornament your sky
Amassed, magnificent.

They shun the realms beyond.
Are you not their fond
Fair dwelling by consent
Of time? Why should they go
And vanish quite, as though
They were not all content?

My pleasures are not love,
Else like the clouds above
They swiftly would relent.
They are mild beauty; dim
Resistless thought; and whim
And idle blandishment.

Love is a wilful power,
More like the wind or shower
In which the cloud is spent.
My pleasures only screen
The space of light serene
In your deep firmament.

The same music comes again in The Riders. Those who like the syncopated music of modern verse may find it outworn, but to me this is an enchanting music.

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There is quite an ambitious poem in The Gates of Utterance entitled The Audience. The Audience is the soul becoming aware of the music that is creation:

Intently leans the avid Sage
We name The Audience. His mood
Invites a vigorous prelude
Of sound, the silence to assuage.

In clear, attenuated line
The violin a theme avers.
It is this theme as it recurs
That forms the plenary design.

The theme which the composer's love
Could never deal with twice the same;
Submissive cellos now proclaim
It; louder clarions above.

Now give it wise embellishment.
In unsuspected ways, all strings
And pipes resume it, altering
Their rhythms to be more eloquent.

So God reveals Himself to me.
I am His audience; I hear
With mind and soul and heart, His clear
Progressive theme perpetually.

The poems are in this volume not only thoughtful; they all are touched by a tragic vision of life.

Creation is what we call dying
As daylight is darkness to thee.

is said in a poem about the flying bat.

And the poet's songs are to enfold her sorrow "Like portions of a mellow sheath." The most perfect poem in the little volume is the one that has been evoked by the sight of an old laboring woman herding cattle in a pasture. The young poet sees in this figure the resignation that she herself had striven for, the imminent calm passage into a larger life. She named this poem Dusk:

As flowers at dusk their choicest perfumes hold,
Some hearts hoard beauty when the body's old;
I see an age-bent woman lead the herd
To pasture, with no need of guiding word.

While the dull beasts in the tall grasses browse,
Inside her soul the earth's enchantments drowse;
The needles pause between her wasted hands,
For light is always mellow where she stands.

No motion marks her life's harmonious dream;
It is a part of Nature's quiet theme.
Each day renews the uneventful past,
Although her spirit nears a change at last.

From the gray threshold of her silent home
One night, her spirit, kin to evening's shade,
Will float away from crevices life made,
Like seaweed from a cliff into white foam.

Gladys Cromwell was bettering herself; and the poems published last year stand with the best work done by any of the younger poets. Indeed I ask myself, leaving the names of the great contemporaries unuttered, who has written in our days a more memorable lyric than:

Folded Power

Sorrow can wait,
For there is magic in the calm estate
Of grief; lo, where the dust complies
Wisdom lies.

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Sorrow can rest,
Indifferent, with her head upon her breast;
Idle and hushed, guarded from fears;
Content with tears.

Sorrow can bide,
With sealéd lids and hands unoccupied,
Morrow can fold her latent might,
Dwelling with night.

But Sorrow will rise
From her dream of sombre and hushed eternities.
Lifting a Child, she will softly move
With a mother's love.

She will softly rise.
Her embrace the dying will recognize,
Lifting them gently through strange delight
To a clearer light.

She was a being so beautiful and remote that one thought of her as a spirit that by some error had been caught into the wrong sphere. Alas that we have to write for herself and her sister (two beings indeed with a single soul) the lines that are so moving in one of her own poems:

The lost ones and the loved ones we have known,
Who followed, fearless, ways where beauty led.
. . . Oh, let us think instead,
The living trees are emblems of our dead!

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The Lyrics of James Joyce

Chamber Music, by James Joyce. New York: B. W. Huebsch. $1.00.

THIS is James Joyce's one book of verse, a small book written some ten years ago. And beyond that fact, which is indicative in itself, there are many other indications within the thirty-four lyrics that he is not essentially a poet. There is little of the dreamer in them, nothing of the enthusiast. They make their fragile points by turns of evanescent thought, or rhetoric thrice refined. If we may judge his personality by the zest and spontaneity of his plays and novels it is fair to say that he was in verse a shadow of himself and others, a dilettante playing a safe and pleasant game. The charm the lyrics possess, a charm undeniable and unfailing, is due in great measure to a skill in rhythms that, if not unique, is arresting, and a cleverness that has lent itself momentarily to the touching of chords at once light and wistful, whimsical and sadly austere. Not that it was a conscious effort, to be repeated at will. It is youth that makes these things possible to men not singers by inner compulsion.

The music of the lyrics is of a casual ballad quality, seemingly artless, but full of subtly gained effects. The shifting stress, the naively lengthened line, the half-rhyme, are used with a surety that could be no other than deliberate. And the consciousness of the art is emphasized by the perfection with which variations of the formal rondeau are used. There is formality and device throughout, though well disguised, and a courtliness that reminds one of Herrick or Lovelace:

> "Now, wind, of your good courtesy
> I pray you go,
> And come into her little garden
> And sing at her window. . . ."

One-half stanza, of excellence compact, yet it reminds you of too many other excellent things. Of Rossetti, of Yeats, and of phrases and rhythms more archaic, a trace of each. It would be a pretty problem to unravel all the strains of influence that meet, say in the thirtieth poem, perhaps the best:

> "Love came to us in time gone by
> When one at twilight shyly played
> And one in fear was standing nigh—
> For Love at first is all afraid.
>
> We were grave lovers. Love is past.
> That had his sweet hours many a one;
> Welcome to us now at the last
> The ways that we shall go upon."

But though we might unravel them to our satisfaction we should still find it beautiful, and not alone with imported tricks. For the very lack of emotion that holds Joyce's hand from further poetic achievement lent him here a special grace. He was ill at ease in this alien medium; he would not venture to put himself on paper; he avoided committing himself. And the result is a sentiment so faint that it seems fairy-like, a madrigal from the stars, a summer wind in the harp that leaves you groping for the minstrel. A mere disembodied third person, aloof, detached, is the author of Chamber Music. And now that Joyce is grown up past recall we shall seek him under heaven, or in the depths of the subconscious, quite in vain.

M. A.

Dunsany at War

Tales of War, by Lord Dunsany. Boston: Little, Brown & Company. $1.25.

THIS is not so much a collection of tales of the war as a series of moods evoked by desolation. Of tales there are four or five; in the main the book is made up of quiet essays, studies in cold-blooded vengeance or cold-blooded despair. Of the thirty-two sketches fourteen are given over in whole or in part to discussion of the Kaiser and his place in demonology. There is a satirical study of his mustache; a torture fantasy in the manner of Dickens's Christmas Carol; and an ironical discussion of the language of apes, ending with the theory that William II was caught young on the slopes of Kilimanjaro. The last of the Hohenzollerns is as fair game as has walked the earth, but these things seem beneath the dignity of a first-rate literary artist. At any rate they are badly done, half-hearted. The pictures of No-Man's-Land are distinctly better. Lord Dunsany is a master of the cadences of simple English, and he has written here a number of musical prose poems. They have an air kingly and cynical, as of one of his own doomed Red Branch gods saying farewell and stepping with a gesture downward through the mist. But they are too much alike to be very interesting, and we turn with relief to the actual tales as distinct from vignette and allegory, for they sometimes recapture the old wizardry. Weeds and Wire has a touch of it, England is not without it, and The Prayer of the Men of Daleswood could be set beside earlier stories by the same author without a marked contrast. It has the surety of outline, the clear beauty of phrase, the delicate psychological tracery that we have associated with Dunsany since his first appearance. But war has done him no good. It has cramped his gambler's imagination, and made him scrimp in the matter of themes. The advertisement on the cover of Tales of War states that Lord Dunsany has never needed any outside impetus to writing. It might have said further that an outside impetus injures his product. At his best, as in The Golden Doom, he creates his own civilizations, rulers, and wars. Tied down to real war and rulers and peoples he finds himself overwhelmed with happenings too large for his subtle treatment; he can grasp only fragments of situations. Absolute clarity and perfect finish are often realized in the earlier plays and stories; a warmth of emotion has never been his, and this lack has shut him out of a subject all too poignantly and sadly human. When he isolates himself with a small group, as with the Daleswood men, the situation becomes his own, and lives in the unique fashion of his best creations.

Gösta Berling's Saga, by Selma Lagerlöf. Translated by Lillie Tudeer. New York: The American-Scandinavian Foundation. In two volumes. $3.00.

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Why Some Foods Explode in the Stomach

And How 48 Hours Makes New Stomachs from Old

By R. S. THOMPSON

A MAN'S success in life depends more on the co-operation of his stomach than on any other factor. Just as an "army moves on its stomach" so does the individual. Scientists tell us that 90% of all sickness is traceable to the digestive tract. Yet in a surprisingly large number of cases even chronic stomach trouble can be remedied in from 48 to 72 hours.

Physical efficiency is the backbone of mental efficiency. Unless our stomachs are effectively performing their functions in the way Nature intended, we can't be physically fit. And unless we're physically fit, we can't be thoroughly successful.

As Dr. Orison Swett Marden, the noted writer, says, "the brain gets an immense amount of credit which really should go to the stomach." And it's true—keep the digestive system in shape and brain vitality is assured.

Of course, there are successful men who have weak digestions, but they are exceptions to the rule. They succeeded *in spite* of their physical condition. Ten times the success would undoubtedly be theirs if they had the backing of a strong physique and a perfect stomach. There are a thousand men who owe their success in life to a good digestion to every one who succeeded in spite of a poor digestion and the many ills it leads to.

The cause of practically all stomach disorders—and remember, stomach disorders lead to 90% of all sickness—is wrong eating.

Food is the fuel of the human system, yet some of the combinations of food we put into our systems are as dangerous as dynamite, soggy wood and a little coal would be in a furnace—and just about as effective. Is it any wonder that the average life of man to-day is but 39 years—and that diseases of the stomach, liver, and kidneys have increased 103% during the past few years!

The trouble is that no one has, until recently, given any study to the question of food and its relation to the human body. Very often one good harmless food when eaten in combination with other harmless foods creates a chemical reaction in the stomach and literally explodes, giving off dangerous toxics which enter the blood and slowly poison our entire system, sapping our vitality and depleting our efficiency in the meantime.

And yet, just as wrong food selections and combinations will destroy our health and efficiency so will the right foods create and maintain bodily vigor and mental energy. And by right foods we do not mean freak foods—just good, every-day foods properly combined. In fact, to follow Corrective Eating it isn't even necessary to upset your table.

Not long ago I had a talk with Eugene Christian, the noted food scientist, and he told me some of his experiences in the treatment of disease through food. Incidentally Eugene Christian has personally treated over 23,000 people for almost every non-organic ailment known, with almost unvaried success. An enviable record when one considers that people nearly always go to him after every other known method has failed. And the remarkable part of it all is that Eugene Christian's methods often remedy chronic cases of stomach trouble in 48 hours.

One case which interested me greatly was that of a young business man whose efficiency had been practically wrecked through stomach acidity, fermentation and constipation, resulting in physical sluggishness which was naturally reflected in his ability to use his mind. He was twenty pounds under weight when he first went to see Christian and was so nervous he couldn't sleep. Stomach and intestinal gases were so severe that they caused irregular heart action and often fits of great mental depression. As Christian describes it, he was not 50 per cent efficient either mentally or physically. Yet in a few days, by following Christian's suggestions as to food, his constipation had completely gone, although he had formerly been in the habit of taking large daily doses of a strong cathartic. In five weeks every abnormal symptom had disappeared—his weight having increased six pounds. In addition to this, he acquired a store of physical and mental energy so great in comparison with his former self as to almost belie the fact that it was the same man.

Another instance of what proper food combinations can do was that of a man one hundred pounds overweight whose only other discomfort was rheumatism. This man's greatest pleasure in life was eating. Though convinced of the necessity he hesitated for months to go under treatment, believing he would be deprived of the pleasure of the table. He finally, however, decided to try it out. Not only did he begin losing weight at once, quickly regaining his normal figure, all signs of rheumatism disappearing, but he found the new diet far more delicious to the taste and afforded a much keener quality of enjoyment than his old method of eating, and he wrote Christian a letter to that effect.

But perhaps the most interesting case that Christian told me of was that of a multi-millionaire—a man 70 years old, who had been traveling with his doctor for several years in a search for health. He was extremely emaciated, had chronic constipation, lumbago, and rheumatism. For over twenty years he had suffered from stomach and intestinal trouble which in reality was superacidu-ous secretions in the stomach. The first menus given him were designed to remove the causes of acidity, which was accomplished in about thirty days. And after this was done he seemed to undergo a complete rejuvenation. His eyesight, hearing, taste, and all of his mental faculties became keener and more alert. He had had no organic trouble—but he was starving to death from malnutrition and decomposition—all caused by the wrong selection and combination of foods. After six months' treatment this man was as well and strong as he had ever been in his life.

These instances of the efficacy of right eating I have simply chosen at random from perhaps a dozen Eugene Christian told me of, every one of which was fully as interesting, and they applied to as many different ailments. Surely this man Christian is doing a great work.

I know of several instances where rich men and women have been so pleased with what he has done for them that they have sent him checks for $500 or $1,000 in addition to the amount of the bill when paying him.

There have been so many inquiries from all parts of the United States from people seeking the benefit of Eugene Christian's advice and whose cases he is unable to handle personally that he has written a course of little lessons which tell you exactly what to eat for health, strength and efficiency. This course is published by The Corrective Eating Society of New York.

These lessons, there are 24 of them, contain actual menus for breakfast, luncheon, and dinner, curative as well as corrective, covering every condition of health and sickness from infancy to old age and for all occupations, climates and seasons, including special summer menus which enable you to withstand the heat and retain winter's vigor.

Reasons are given for every recommendation based upon actual results secured in the author's many years of practice. Technical terms have been avoided—every point is explained so clearly that there can be no possible misunderstanding.

With these lessons at hand it is just as though you were in personal contact with the great food specialist, because every possible point is so thoroughly covered that you can scarcely think of a question which isn't answered. You can start eating the very things that will produce the increased physical and mental energy you are seeking the day you receive the lessons and will find that you secure results with the first meal. And if you suffer from acid stomach it is quite likely that your trouble will successfully be overcome in from 48 to 72 hours.

If you would like to examine these 24 Little Lessons in Corrective Eating, simply write The Corrective Eating Society, Inc., Dept. 1093, 443 Fourth Avenue, New York City. It is not necessary to enclose any money with your request. Merely ask them to send the lessons on five days' trial, with the understanding that you will either return them within the time or remit $3.00, the small fee asked.

The reason that the Society is willing to send the lessons on free examination without money in advance is because they want to remove every obstacle to putting this knowledge in the hands of the many interested people as soon as possible, knowing full well that a test of some of the menus in the lessons themselves is more convincing than anything that can possibly be said about them.

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the careful editing of Miss Hanna Larsen and the addition of eight chapters curiously omitted from the original edition and now translated by Velma Swanston Howard.

No symmetric spider web of plot attempts to regulate the tumult of Gösta Berling's Saga. Selma Lagerlöf wrote it out of a memory kindling with stories and legends of Vermland, the "pearl of Sweden," most romantic and lovely of provinces. From its black forests and shining lakes comes Gösta Berling, the unfrocked priest, who joined the mad, joyous, bitter life of the cavaliers at Ekeby, eagles broken in the Napoleonic wars. Men and women, nobles and peasants are touched into mirth or grief, wickedness or self-sacrifice; devils and wood-nymphs are as likely to appear as labor troubles in the iron foundries; tragedies and comedies begin and are broken off, appear again and are crossed again, episodes free and episodes interlocking; in no set pattern but wild folds of darkness, flashing here and there into high passionate hues, more rarely into glints of humor.

Only the thread of Gösta Berling's life runs through the weft with few breaks. For that we are grateful. In the company of heroes there are few so remembered as Gösta. His is the gayest wildness, the blackest despair, the tenderest touch—he is a Bayard humanized, a d'Artagnan with a soul. He is immortal romanticism made flesh.

The Eyes of Asia, by Rudyard Kipling. New York: Doubleday Page Company. $1.00.

A DREARY difference separates Kipling's recent performances from Kim and Without Benefit of Clergy. The latest of the little sketch books of the war fits upon The Eyes of Asia the spectacles of rampant imperialism with the same curious effect Ian Hay achieved when he answered the Irish question by saying The Oppressed English. It is a series of letters from Indian soldiery in the service of Britain, expressing a noble and awed appreciation of England and all her works and habits in the picturesque Orientalized dialect Kipling masters so fluently. They are not without interest. The Private Account is especially good, with a little vital flare almost like old times. But considering the enthusiastic dislike with which cultivated East Indians, particularly those who earnestly pursue Occidental culture through American universities, regard Kipling's utterances about their country, this emulative reverence is rather quaint. It affords a striking contrast to the remarks of the courteously deprecating Mir Jellaludin in Mr. Wells's Joan and Peter. The tongue is the tongue of Asia, but the eyes are the eyes of Kipling.

Contributors

to this issue

WINTHROP D. LANE, a graduate of the University of Michigan, and associate editor of The Survey, who has made a special study of prison reform, child welfare and educational work.

MORRIS R. COHEN, Professor of Philosophy at the College of the City of New York, and an authority on the philosophical aspects of jurisprudence.

GROVER C. LOUD, a newspaper man, who fought and was wounded in the recent war.

PAUL ROSENFELD, a graduate of Yale University and a writer on music and literature.

FRED B. JOHNSON, a lawyer in civil life who served during the war in the office of the Judge Advocate General's department at Washington.

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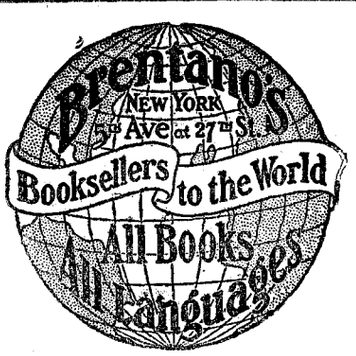

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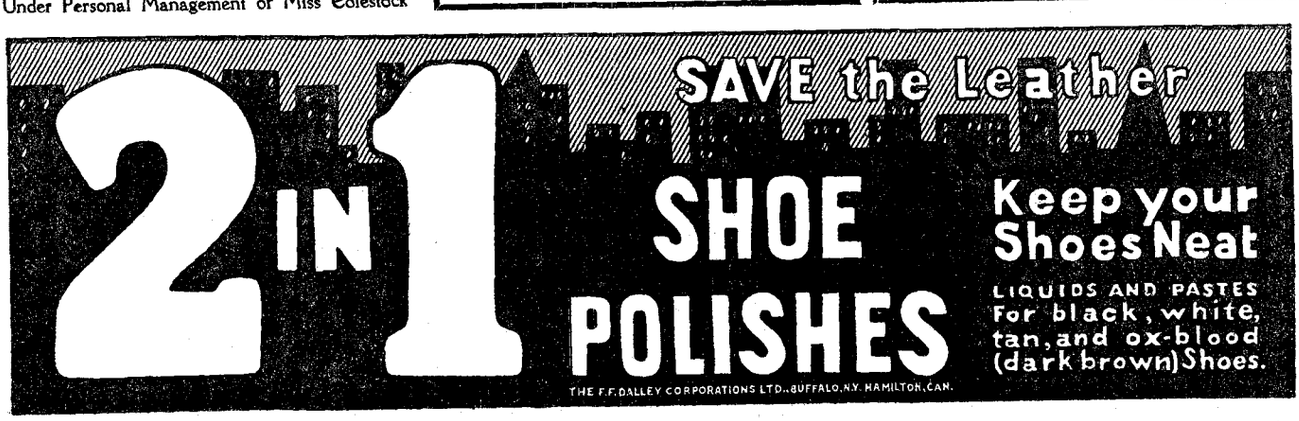
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